THE CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES OF NORTHERN ITALY

BY T. FRANCIS BUMPUS

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TRENT
Adige R.
VICENZA
PADUA
VENICE
VERONA
Adige R.
MANTUA
Po. R.
Po. R.
FERRARA
REGGIO
MODENA
BOLOGNA
RAVENNA
ADRIATIC SEA

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THE CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES OF NORTHERN ITALY

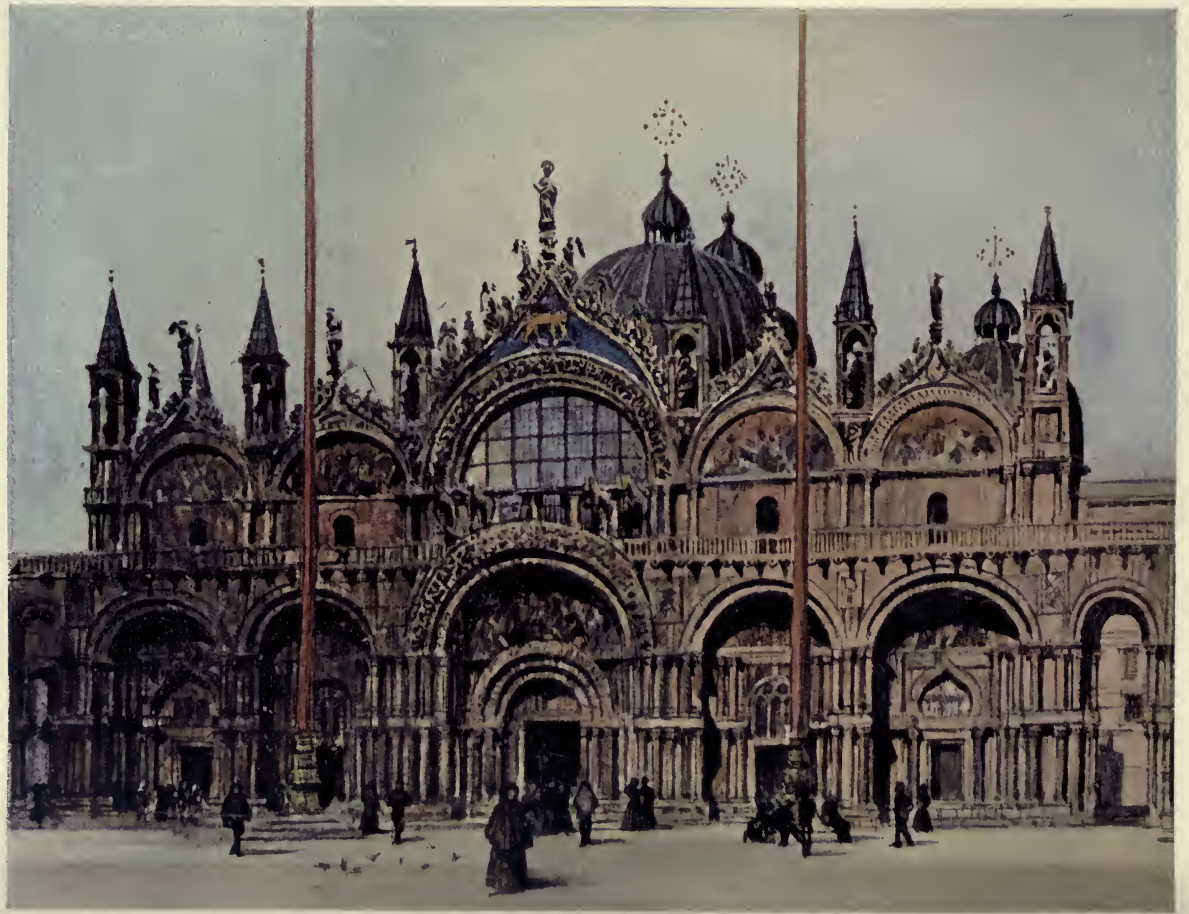


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THE CATHEDRALS OF CENTRAL & SOUTHERN ITALY. By T. Francis Bumpus.

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THE CATHEDRALS AND CHURCHES OF NORTHERN ITALY

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By

T. FRANCIS BUMPUS

Author of "The Cathedrals of England & Wales," "The Glories of Northern France," "The Cathedrals and Churches of the Rhine and North Germany," etc.

With Eighty-One Illustrations
(Nine of which are in Colour)

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To

FRANCIS AUGUSTUS BEVAN, Esq.

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The Cathedrals and Churches of Northern Italy

CHAPTER I

Introductory Sketch of Italian Church Architecture

LITTLE did I imagine, as I penned the chapters on Lichfield, Gloucester and St Albans in the third volume of *The Cathedrals of England and Wales* during the gloomy days of a London November, when the winds were rustling through the denuded boughs and stray leaves were tapping on the panes as they fell, that I should be revising the proofs beneath the sunny skies of an Italian June, while sauntering through the avenues which encircle Modena and Pavia, Vercelli and Novara. But it is the unexpected that happens.

Calling one day in the spring of last year upon my publisher, he proposed that I should undertake the volume on Northern Italy for his "Cathedral Series."

It may surprise some of my readers when they learn that I did not perform that extraordinary mental gymnastic feat known as jumping at an offer. At first I shrank from the task, under the conviction that it had been accomplished long ago and by far abler pens; indeed, it was only upon reflecting that one's true, fresh and vivid impressions are worthy of some respect, and that a sincere and reverential love of beauty gives one an instructive appreciation of the spirit of the higher forms of art, however deficient the judgement may be in matters of execution and detail, that

I could prevail upon myself to embark on so serious an undertaking. With a very limited understanding of causes it is possible to feel effects in architecture and the arts ancillary to it. Much had to be learnt, as hitherto my only acquaintance with transalpine church architecture had been derived from books and hearsay.

Now, I was to greet what even then seemed like old friends face to face. I was to shake hands with the red and yellow brick of Verona, the white marble of Milan, the mosaics of Ravenna, Venice and Torcello, and the colonnades and domes of Bologna and Padua.

I was to tread the solemn courts of St Michele at Pavia, Sant' Ambrogio at Milan, and of the cathedrals at Trent, Modena, Parma and Piacenza, and to make acquaintance with some of the Renaissance masterpieces of Palladio, Sanmichele, Bramante, Domenico Tibaldi and Girolamo da Brescia.

The want of a congenial companion to induce and reciprocate remarks would, as on former occasions, have been much felt, had the prescribed seven weeks' touring been a seven weeks of wandering or of desultory excursionizing in any sort of vague or experimental manner. Fortunately, systematic employment, whose enjoyableness was to be that which comes from incessant activity, and by no means the delight of doing nothing, was to be the order of the day; the route, Bavaria and the Tyrol and home through Dauphiné, the Lyonnais, Burgundy, Champagne and French Flanders, was all sketched out beforehand, and this or that place planned to be reached or left behind on such and such a day.

It must, however, be confessed that when, with no *impedimenta* beyond a knapsack and a portfolio, I entrained on Monday evening, May 21, for Harwich, the Hook of

Holland and Cologne, I could not shake off the feeling that the first plunge into that cold bath of a new life of seven weeks' entire independence and self-reliance which lay before me had been taken.

The temptation to linger at Cologne, where I found myself at noon on the following day, was too great to be resisted; so, abandoning the idea of proceeding directly to Frankfort, I gave myself up to the enjoyment of the manifold ecclesiological treasures of the "Rome of the North." With renewed delight I visited the noble basilicas of St Mary in the Capitol, and the Holy Apostles—lately enriched with mosaics in a style thoroughly consonant with its architecture; attended the afternoon Offices in the Cathedral; assisted at the "May devotions" in sundry churches, hearing Pepys-like "a bit here and a bit there"; peeped through the metal grilles at the interiors of St Cunibert's and St Martin's, both looking profoundly awful in the fast gathering darkness; paid my respects to the shrine of England's protomartyr in the jejune rococo church of St Mary in the Schnurgasse; thought the western façades of St Andrew's and St Mary's of the Lys two of the most charming specimens of thirteenth-century Rhenish architecture of my acquaintance; and next morning reached Frankfort, after a rapid but enjoyable railway ride through old Rhineside towns and villages all embosomed in thick May leaves. The evening of the same day found me at Würzburg, where the greater part of Holy Thursday was spent. Charming was the procession which I encountered on my way to High Mass, making the circuit of the vast Romanesque Cathedral to the familiar strains of "Hursley."* Brightly

*A melody from the Bavarian chorale books, wedded by the compilers of the first edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* to *Sun of my Soul.*

did the sun shine on the processional crosses and banners, the curling incense, the rich vestments of the clergy and the glittering Monstrance, borne by the Bishop beneath a silken canopy.

Perhaps the climax of picturesqueness was reached when, the procession having emerged into the broad square in front of the Cathedral, it ascended the steps leading to the great west entrance, through whose widely flung valves could be seen the thronged interior with the brilliantly lighted high altar in the dim distance. The great bells now added their voices, and from within came the solemn tones of the organ, which increased in volume as the procession advanced up the nave, presently, when all were in their places, merging into the familiar Ascension Day introit, "Viri Galilæi, quid admiramini adspicientes in cœlum?" so that I felt as much at home here as in my own church in London. The hearty devotion of the numerous worshippers; the thoroughly church-like character of the music; the vast, but sadly classicized pile in which we were assembled; and especially the grand colossal upright figures of prince bishops—relics of a purer age of architecture—affixed to the nave piers combined to render the scene very religious and solemn.

Divine service concluded, and visits having been paid to several churches, notably the picturesque one of St Burchardus on the opposite side of the Maine, I resumed the journey, reaching Bamberg in time to assist at a very hearty and well attended evening service in the majestically situated Cathedral, remarkable for its quartette of spires, each pair of which flanks an apse or choir—the St George's Choir, rich late Romanesque, at the east, and the St Peter's Choir in pure early Pointed Gothic at the west end. Very



St. Andrea Vercelli: From the South West.

To face page 4.

peaceful and soothing were the precincts of this Dom at Bamberg as I pervaded them in the freshness of early morning on the subsequent day, while the bells were sending forth their sonorous voices for the Chapter Mass, which was rendered with much ritual dignity and appropriate musical accompaniment.

A great treat was the singing of the *Dies Iræ* at a subsequent "Black Mass," a couple of trombones imparting great force and character to such verses as "Tuba mirum spargens sonum" and "Rex tremendæ majestatis."

I may remind my readers how Sir Walter Scott recurred to this truly inspired composition of Thomas of Celano on his death-bed, and how it gave rise to one of the finest scenes in Goethe's *Faust.*

The metre, indeed, is unique. The triple hammer-strokes of the triple rhyme, the wonderful simplicity of the words, the fearful sublimity of the ideas, the telling effect of every word, make this, one of the few great sequences that escaped removal from the Roman Gradual in the sixteenth century, stand alone in its unapproachable glory.

Of the manifold architectural treasures of Nuremberg I dare not trust myself to speak, neither may I dilate upon those of Ratisbon, where I spent a rapturous "Sunday after Ascension Day." My visit to this most majestic of Danubian cities was rendered notable by the Ordination which the Bishop of the diocese was holding in the graceful, if not vast, Complete-Gothic cathedral, so renowned for its painted glass of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As early as half-past seven an immense congregation began to assemble. At eight o'clock a glorious voluntary was played upon the organ concealed behind the high altar, and during the hour that elapsed before the commencement of

the ceremony, the celebrated choir, likewise hidden from view, sang a series of motets in the style of Orlando di Lasso and Palestrina, and with so sublime an effect that I found myself constantly in tears.

During the Ordination itself the hymns *Veni Creator* and *Veni sancte Spiritus* were sung alternately, sometimes in their original plain song, sometimes to a severe modern setting in concerted parts.

At the conclusion of every piece a silence like that of death fell upon the church, as if some celestial vision had passed before the living eyes and hushed into stillness every pulse of human feeling. The effect of this invisible music was beyond anything I have ever heard or ever expect to hear. The air seemed stirred with the trembling of angelic wings, or as if the gates of heaven had been opened and a wandering breath from the songs of seraphs had been borne to earth. A few sounds which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been merely a passing luxury to the ear, heard on this solemn occasion and beneath this noble vault, were like a purifying wave, which, for an instant, swept over the soul, bearing away with it all the soil and stains of earth, and leaving it pure as infancy. There was, it is true, a refluent tide; and the world, displaced by the solemn strain, came back with the echo; but, though we cannot keep the heights we are competent to gain, we are the better for the too brief exaltation.

Another treat awaited me in the afternoon, when Vespers and Compline were sung to the ancient plain chant, according to the use of Ratisbon, by sixty seminarists, who, in cassocks, surplices and birettas, had walked in procession from their college to the Cathedral.

Nor was the crowd, which in the evening filled the

Romanesque Scotch Benedictine Church of St James to overflowing, less impressive; the profound stillness and reverent demeanour of the people contrasting forcibly with the levity that I was to encounter a few days later.

Italy is so often the country of disenchantment that I was hardly surprised at the slovenly irreverence with which many of the Offices were performed even in some of the cathedrals. The nasal chanting, the disorder and flippancy everywhere, the scanty congregations and the general perfunctoriness of things, struck me very unpleasantly after the dignity of the German church services.

However, I suppose we travel to little purpose if we carry with us the standard which is formed in some country of our own predilection, and expect the religious sentiment to manifest itself at all times and in all places in the same manner.

At Venice, Verona and Milan I found a better state of things, due at St Mark's, presumably, to the work of the present Pope, and at Milan to the zeal of the clergy for the proper dignity of the Ambrosian rite.

The Roman Church appears at its best in Holland and Northern Germany, perhaps by reaction from the arid desolation of Calvinism and Evangelicalism in those countries.

From Ratisbon I pursued the journey through Landshut, Freising, Munich and Innsbruck, to Trent, where I arrived at sunset on the Friday before Whitsuntide. Here I made my first Italian meal outside the *Albergo Venezia*, and in full view of the Romanesque Cathedral, in which I seemed to trace a line of demarcation between the architecture of Northern and Southern Europe. By entering Italy this gradual way, I found, long before I reached the frontier, forms which prepared me for what was coming, forms which

served to indicate how deep was the artistic influence of Rome in the land whose kings claimed to be her emperors. And this influence made itself felt, tarrying as I did at Würzburg, Bamberg and Ratisbon, where I felt that here in the heart of Germany I had come within the direct influence of the art of Italy, classical and modern.

I must warn the reader that one of the most important cautions which he should impose upon himself on visiting Italy for the first time is to guard carefully against being too much carried away by the reaction against former prejudice. I, in common with many another student of church architecture, visited Italy too late, and under the impression that it contained little that exactly coincided with my way of thinking. Before studying the Anglo-Romanesque of Ely, Norwich and Peterborough, the Norman of Caen and its vicinity, or the several varieties of the round arched style to be met with in Germany, I should have made the acquaintance of their Roman, Ravennese and Lombard prototypes, since a stream of Italian art can be traced, first spreading down the Rhine, thence working to the south and south-west of France, and so on in gradual and steady development to the North.

That I found the cities which I visited absolutely filled with objects of the utmost novelty and interest it were idle to deny; still I did not fly at once to the opposite extreme, and become so much enamoured of these newly discovered beauties as to think them superior to those on which my former ideas and knowledge had been founded.

The Romanesque and Early Pointed of Lombardy charmed me much, but I saw at once that her Complete Gothic of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though possessing much beauty, was, *per se*, vastly inferior as an

architectural style to the contemporary work of France and England.

Not only are its details mixed with reminiscences of classical antiquity, but its construction falls so far short of carrying out fully the great principles of Pointed architecture that it must ever be considered a far less perfect development of the style than those of Northern Europe.

In the early days of the English Gothic revival, Italian Romanesque and Pointed received but scant attention,* and it was not more than half a century ago, when the writings of Ruskin and the several competitions for erecting churches on foreign soil sent the current of architectural taste rushing beyond the Alps, that the Gothic of Italy began to be seriously studied.

In 1848, when Butterfield drew the designs for All Saints', Margaret Street, it was not an easy thing to conceive of a red-brick church of vast height and costly ornamentation and the highest architectural dignity. Those were the days of timid copyism of ancient precedents. For the most part design was little better than the compilation and recomposition of the *disjecta membra* of medieval buildings. No one remembered the noble brick architecture of Venice and Verona, and, in default of the costly and almost unattainable hewn stone from Caen or Portland, churches were built of the rudest Kentish rag laid in random courses, and pointed, probably, with black mortar. It was in All Saints' that Butterfield made the first step forward in that bolder style of design which was to open so hopeful a future for English architecture, and it may be doubted whether the

* As an exception to this, Christ Church, Streatham Hill, should be mentioned. It was built in 1841 from the designs of Wild, and as a specimen of Venetian Gothic elicited the admiration of Ruskin.

chief excellences of this design, however often imitated, have been equalled or approached.

All Saints', Margaret Street, and St James the Less in Upper Garden Street, Westminster,* are churches in which their respective architects, Butterfield and Street, stepped beyond the mere repetition of English medieval forms to produce buildings in which a free eclectic manipulation of parts was grafted upon a system of polychromatic construction, having its basis in the fact that London is naturally a brick town. Butterfield and Street represented very different phases of what may be called the "inventive" or "original" phase of the Gothic revival movement. At All Saints' we find the adoption of constructive polychrome, but its architectural detail shows that in the mass it is decidedly Northern and specially English. In St James the Less, Street, who a few years before had uttered his love for Southern Pointed in his *Brick and Marble of North Italy*, rejected the old Gothic of England and gave us a building as Italian in the selection and arrangement of its materials as it was in detail. With the greatest respect for the talents of these two leaders of the Revival, I cannot believe in the infallibility of either, nor can I pretend to strike the balance between their two systems. Both architects had much to say for themselves, and each had his weaker points, yet it is impossible not to perceive in both these churches, which have long passed the gauntlet of criticism, a bold and magnificent endeavour to shake off the trammels of that antiquarian precedent which had long fettered the progress of the Revival.† Sir Gilbert

*All Saints' was completed in 1859; St James's in 1861.

†In All Saints', Clifton, and St Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, two churches in which Street was permitted to carry out his ideas unhampered by pecuniary considerations, we perceive some very graceful Italian im-

Scott likewise introduced certain judicious features from Italian Pointed into many of the churches which in his own peculiar soft style he was sowing over the country about this time, notably in St Mary's, Stoke Newington, one of the most beautiful and elegant structures that the movement had up to the period of its completion (1858) produced. Since that time Italian Pointed has been introduced into England with no small advantage, and in the hands of accomplished practitioners has been found to supply a fund of material which has been utilized to enrich and render more copious and complete that which we derive from our Northern examples, and which has been imported into our own style without vitiating its nationality to any serious extent.

On the other hand, unfortunately, when introduced by clumsy imitators, it is no wonder that a revulsion against this penchant for foreign forms should, in a short time, have taken place, and that many of our best architects should have retraced their steps and become more insular in their tastes.

To return, however, from this digression. Italian Gothic was never so thoroughly and independently worked out as the Northern types, and therefore never reached their dignity, consistency and perfection; but when the influence to which the medieval builders in the South were subjected are considered, it is wonderful that the Gothic of that country was even so far developed as it is found. Rome, wedded to her own habits, always regarded the Pointed styles with disdain, and except in the case of Sta Maria sopra Minerva and the Chapel of the Santa Scala, never admitted them in buildings of importance, except in the decorations of

portations. In the latter, details from the Cathedral at Udine between Venice and Trieste seem to have been the favourite models.

distinct and subordinate parts, such as tabernacles, shrines and tombs.

The paucity of monuments left by the Middle Ages in Rome is one of the disappointing realities in the modern conditions of that city, but easily to be accounted for by reference to the historic circumstances of those times, so troublous and continually agitated by the shocks of contending parties, in a metropolis whose misfortune it was to exist under a government never strictly defined or guaranteed from disorder, by a general and royal recognition of constituted authority. The senate and aristocracy on the one hand, the popes and their ecclesiastical ministers on the other, and at a distance the vague but powerfully supported claims of the Emperors of the West, produced in the aggregate a confusion contributing to render this city, perhaps, the most unquiet centre for social life throughout that period understood in the term "medieval." Whilst magnificent cathedrals were rising into grandeur of completeness at Pisa, Siena, Florence and Milan, Rome produced nothing worthy of an enduring place among the great monuments of Christian faith and genius; and during the period most eventful to the study of revived art in Italy her pontiffs were spending their lives in inglorious exile at Avignon, leaving their capital to its gloomy destinies, ruinous, depopulated and torn by factions.

The classical taste can hardly ever be said to have been quite extinct in Italy; her architecture, throughout the whole period from the decline to the revival of the arts, bears traces of it, and therefore we cannot wonder at seeing it obtain an early and complete ascendancy, the effect of which was felt by degrees at a distance.

In England, it is needless to remind my readers that,

roughly speaking, the history of Gothic architecture begins with the Norman Conquest and ends with the Reformation. During this period of about five hundred years it passed through a certain career of continual movement. It never rested. So it is with all human enterprises that are worth anything, they never rest; there is nothing peculiar in this respect about architecture. Not only so, but in different localities the "mode" came to be carried out with great variety.

Under special influences also, as, for instance, those of the rival religious organizations, there arose of necessity certain corresponding schools of art. Then as now, no doubt, every designer considered that to do a thing well he must do it himself; and it was almost impossible to find anyone so devoid of self-confidence as to fail to take occasion to improve upon the work of everybody else.

The natural consequence of this is that, while the Gothic cathedrals and churches of England, and to a great extent those of France and Germany, are replete with variety, the student can have little or no hesitation about assigning its proper date to each.

The ecclesiastical architecture of Italy reverses this. Up to a certain period the history of Gothic art in that country can be said to have run parallel with that of the Northern nations, but no one style held undisputed sway. The subject is a vast one for several reasons. Chief among them must be reckoned the foreign influences which introduced strange novelties into a large part of Italy, particularly into that of which this volume is designed to treat,* a fertile

*It lay mainly in what used to be the Veneto-Lombardic kingdom, extending in one direction from Trent to Bologna, and in another from Ravenna to Genoa, the whole district being of all Italy north of the Apennines the richest in typical examples.

and prosperous region which has since the decline of the Roman Empire attracted invaders from all parts, many of whom seized large tracts of territory, and each race bringing with it its own peculiar style of architecture, of which countless monuments still exist. Thus in Sicily we find the Norman and Arabo-Norman; in Ravenna, the Byzantine; in the North, the Lombard; each of which styles has characteristics differing from the rest. Again, every petty State affected certain peculiarities, either in plan or detail, producing the differences which distinguish the churches of Pavia and Bergamo from those of Pisa and Lucca, Venice and Verona. And if to these causes we add the wandering companies of Freemasons who traversed the country, apparently hailing from Germany, and who have bequeathed at intervals specimens of their art far purer in style than the productions of native talent, it is easy to understand what discernment is required in presenting a general scheme of architectural classification which shall embrace all the differing varieties of style, and to enable the student to form a clear idea of the date of a church from its architecture.

All that I propose attempting in this preparatory chapter is to give some insight into the principles which guided the progress of North Italian church art generally, and to endeavour to describe some of the most distinguishing marks of the different schools, so that the reader may be able to distinguish one style from another, and also be able to decide which churches were built in a comparatively earlier or later period according to the knowledge of construction displayed in them. It is necessary, however, at starting to warn the prospective visitor to Northern Italy that he must be prepared for not a few bitter disappointments. In far too

many instances work of the Romanesque and Early Pointed periods has been concealed by the restorations and additions to which the cathedrals and churches were subjected between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.* Still frequently under the superimposed mass of baroque decoration, a shaft, a moulding, or a piece of foliaged ornament can be discerned, speaking of a period of primitive simplicity.

Some of the earliest buildings erected for the purposes of worship are to be found in Rome, the native soil of Christianity. I say some only, for under Constantine, in whose reign the Christians first enjoyed peace, churches were erected simultaneously in Rome, Constantinople and Jerusalem. These were, generally speaking, similar in plan and arrangement.

During the first three centuries of the Christian era churches can scarcely be said to have existed. The ordinary places of worship of the early Christians were confined to catacombs and other secret places.

During the same period the architecture of heathen Rome had gradually deteriorated; and this followed so regular a course that when the Emperor Constantine in the year 323 embraced the Christian faith Roman architecture was at its worst. The numerous communities of Christians, when they emerged from the catacombs and could worship in the light of day, had to be provided at once with suitable places of worship. In some cities the temples were adapted to this purpose by pulling down the cell walls and building other walls be-

*The interiors of the Cathedral at Ferrara and of the churches of Sta Maria Maggiore at Bergamo and San Lorenzo at Milan are particularly annoying examples of this treatment. In Southern Germany rich and rampant chapters have thrown Pompadour masks over many a grand Romanesque interior, notably Würzburg, Freising and several churches in Ratisbon.

tween the columns, or, in the case of smaller temples, by making the columns of the peristyle serve as those between nave and aisles, while outer walls and an apse were added. Several adaptations of this sort occur to the memory, notably at Syracuse, at Vienne, which I visited on my return home from this tour, and at Cora in the Volscian Mountains, where the portico of the temple has been left standing, forming anciently a vestibule to the church. But as the *cella* was often too small or the peristyle too large for this purpose, and as the Christians preferred buildings of their own to places defiled by the former presence of idols, they either took possession of buildings of another class, or erected churches on the model of these edifices.

Thus it came about that few temples were ever adapted for the purposes of Christian worship; fewest of all in the capital of the Christian world. With the exception of the Pantheon we fail to discover any real example in Rome of a temple which can be said to owe its *preservation*, in the *proper sense* of the term, to the Christian clergy. They had then no thought of the kind—they took no pleasure in such antiquities. Antiquaries with eager zeal have collected about ten examples in which this preservation is asserted.

Even in the cases which are least dubious, no further merit can be claimed for the hierarchy than the accidental preservation of a portico, a *cella* or a wall, an encumbrance which it was troublesome to remove, or a fragment which saved some expense, built up, concealed, marred or deformed by the new erection to which it was unwillingly conjoined. It could not be otherwise. To the early Christians any participation in our modern admiration of heathen art would have been false and unnatural. All the opinions, all the reality, all the feeling, all the conscience of the early

Christians strove against the preservation of the memorials of heathenism. Neither beauty nor convenience, if they had possessed the latter requisite, would, save in some few special cases like that of the Pantheon, plead for the preservation of the relics of classical antiquity. They considered the idols as accursed.

Could the profession of Christianity find any congenial edifices raised by the heathen but unpolluted, and wherein the acknowledgement of faith could be made boldly and before the light of day? Such did exist. Amongst the structures by which Rome was adorned, the secular basilica vied with the sacred temple in magnificence and glory. The name of the Basilica was derived from the portico situated in the Athenian Ceramicus immediately beneath the Pnyx. It was here that the Archon, arrayed in the robes of royalty, discharged the duties of judge in all matters connected with the sanctuary. Greatly modified by the Romans—whatever the Romans borrowed they borrowed as conquerors—the Basilica appeared at an early period of the Republic in the Forum.

In shape the building was an oblong terminated by the tribunal. In the midst of the semicircular apsis arose an elevated platform upon which the seat of the prætor was placed. This is the portion to which, as *gabbatha* or *lithostrotos* (pavement), St John alludes in the nineteenth chapter of his Gospel. On either side, but lower down, were the seats of the centumviri, the officers, the scribes, and all others who participated in the honours of the tribunal or the duties of judgement, guarded from the intrusion of the inferior orders by the *cancelli* or grated enclosures. Still lower down was the portion allotted to the notaries and advocates.

Three-quarters of the building composed a vast hall,

whilst a transverse aisle or transept, if I may so call it, separated this hall from the apsis—the peculiar region of dignity and awe. In all the basilicas the great hall was divided by columns into portions similar to the nave and aisles of a church, and these columns usually supported a gallery above. The central nave generally received light from windows in the upper wall. Sometimes the whole building was roofed, sometimes only portions. This seems to have been the case particularly in those basilicas in which a section of the nave, being left open to the sky, constituted an atrium within the aisles.

Such was the general type; but without any material departure from the normal form, there was, nevertheless, a considerable degree of variety in the arrangements, resulting from the greater or lesser convenience of site or magnificence of building.

Besides their capaciousness, even their twofold arrangements pointed out these basilicas as particularly suitable for the service of the new religion. What had been the distinguishing feature of the secular basilica became that of the ecclesiastical one, namely, the tribune or spacious semicircular recess covered with a semi-dome. This, which was, as already stated, the seat of the prætor and other magistrates, was now appropriated to the bishop, who might thence, like a true *Episcopus*, look down upon the congregation and attending clergy; and in front of this was placed the altar, in the centre of the *bema* or *dais*, which was raised several steps above the pavement of the rest of the edifice; and this division of the place was further marked by a larger arch on columns (*porta triumphalis*) corresponding with that of the tribune, and of which the idea is still retained in the chancel arch of our Gothic churches.

The hall or forum with its colonnades was of course assigned to the laity, nor could any arrangement have been better devised for imparting a visibly august character to the rites and solemnities of the Church than that which was directly supplied by the pagan basilica.

Forming part of the *cancelli* were two ambones or pulpits. From the loftier and more richly adorned one the Gospel was read, and episcopal censures and injunctions promulgated. From this pulpit also the "bidding prayers" were read and the sermons preached, but the bishop preached sitting upon his *faldistorium* before the altar. A small pillar before the Gospel pulpit supported the paschal candle. Within the *cancelli* were stationed the singers by whom the Offices were chanted. We apply the term *chancel* to the portion of the church enclosed by the *cancelli.*

The Germans give the name *Kanzell* to the pulpit standing on the *cancelli*, and all the languages of Europe, the the title of Chancellor or *Cancellarius* to the successor of the officer who stood within these railings.*

In the Basilica Jovis on the Palatine a portion of the *cancelli* can still be seen in the apse and the columns dividing it into a nave and aisles. The basilica, thus modified and adapted to Christian worship, contained the germ of the ecclesiastical architecture of all Christendom, and can be traced in every cathedral and parish church built at home and abroad ever since. There are churches on the basilican plan which are called the *dromia* because they are long like a road.

*In later times, when altars, no longer insulated, did not permit the bishops and clergy to be seen behind them, the presbytery was removed from the apsis at the back to the *chorus* in front, though in many Italian churches of cathedral and conventual rank the old arrangement is still adhered to.

In the construction of these basilicas the columns, capitals and other parts of ancient temples were employed; consequently we find, as at St Lorenzo and Sta Agnese in Rome, that these parts do not correspond with one another, but that they are of various heights and sizes.

Rome has adhered to her early traditions of church building, consequently we find but few variations in plan and details. We have the division into a nave and aisles, or in some instances with double aisles, of which the centre is the widest; the apse adorned with mosaics; and the episcopal chair * and the altar with its crowning baldachino.

As a specimen of the primitive Roman basilica I would point to St Lorenzo, which is about half a mile outside the gate of that name, or to St Clemente. The former has not the apse, but with that exception the student will be able to realize the form and proportions of the ancient basilica. In St Clemente he will see the *atrium* or outer court perfect, a feature of which other but much later examples occur at St Ambrogio, Milan, and the Cathedral at Palermo. One of these atria existed until comparatively recent times at Novara, where it connected the Cathedral with the Baptistery, but it has been reproduced, since the reconstruction of that cathedral about thirty years ago, in the shape of a Corinthian colonnade which, although of graceful proportions, but ill compensates for the loss of the ancient work. Another style of Christian architecture, however, arose almost simultaneously with the adoption of the basilica at Rome. The Emperor Constantine having transferred the seat of Empire to Byzantium, there immediately sprang into existence a new form which to this day is prevalent in the East.

* As at Torcello and at St Ambrose, Milan.

The Eastern Christians seem to have taken the models of their churches from the great domed halls of the public baths. Instead of the long nave and presbytery of the Roman basilica, four naves or pillared avenues were disposed at right angles to each other, so as to form the figure of a cross; a dome or cupola was raised in the centre on four pier masses; and in the more sumptuous Byzantine churches smaller cupolas were reared at the extremities of the four arms of the cross.

Another peculiarity consisted in the squareness of their buildings; they did not delight in vistas; the exteriors were imposing only from the numerous domes which composed the roofs and the multitude of curves and semicircular arches in every direction. The capitals and columns of earlier buildings were oftentimes used with incongruous effect; and where new capitals had to be restored, no attempt was made to copy the classic examples. They became little more than square blocks tapered down to the shaft, and decorated with foliage in low relief, or with a sort of basket work peculiar to the style.

The connexion which existed between Ravenna and the East accounts for the introduction of the Byzantine style, which is only to be seen there and at Venice. St Vitale, which was erected in the sixth century, is a pure Byzantine church, octagonal in plan and adorned with eight splendid mosaics. Most of the churches in Ravenna, which for the purposes of study may be divided into several periods,* have some Byzantine character about them. One of the

*(1) Before the fall of the Empire of the West in 476; (2) from 476 to the death of Theodoric the Arian in 526; (3) from this time, through the existence of the Exarchate, to the decline of art.

There is also one Pointed church, St Niccolo; and St Dominic, though modernized, is probably Pointed in its shell.

distinguishing marks of this style is a large square block between the capital and the arch, which replaces the ancient abacus. This "dosseret"—to give it its correct title—occurs in St Pietro, St Spirito or St Teodoro, St Apollinaris Nuovo, and St Apollinaris in Classe, all churches built with Byzantine modifications on the basilican plan.

The state of artistic design was undoubtedly at its lowest when these basilicas began to be erected as churches. Their historical designs are rude and conventional. The old Greek sense of beauty had died out in Rome.

Luxury and vulgarity had gradually destroyed the manliness of the race and such sense and love of beauty as it had possessed in days of vigour and prosperity. Constantine could find few competent artists either to sculpture his triumphal arch or to decorate his new capital. Still the Christian community had carried down with it into its subterranean oratories and chapels certain traditions of former times. Historical representations, even sometimes under mythological types, as that of Orpheus, are habitual to those interesting monuments. The classic tunic and occasionally the nude figure continued to be represented in their paintings.

As basilica building and decoration progressed, a marked difference made itself felt between the simplicity of accesories of dress and ornament in the West, and the elaboration of colour and detail in the East.

The basilicas of Justinian at Ravenna are interesting examples of this Byzantine spirit. They represent in more than one instance the emperor and his court, and the empress and hers, with details of costume carefully copied. But though these designs were rude, they were not lacking in grandeur. That nerve and vigour which luxury had eaten



Sta. Agata: A Ravennese Basilica.

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out of the Italian character was beginning to grow anew from fresh sources, and Christianity really inaugurated the revival of the arts. And though, of course, it was centuries before the refinement of art in representation of these objects could be attained, still some influence of the kind is observable in these early Christian representations, and, though rude, the faces and forms possess a grandeur which no art, with all its charms, has since surpassed, purpose, position and architectural character of the representations being taken into account.

The dome is the feature which was chiefly affected by the Eastern architects, and it became the distinguishing feature of their larger churches.

Consequently, St Vitale at Ravenna and St Mark's at Venice, both built by Constantinopolitan architects, have fine domes. The plan of St Mark's is in the form of a Greek cross with four equal arms within an inscribing square; that of Sta Sophia is the same, and that of a smaller cognominous church at Salonica.

Except when favoured by peculiar political relations, it is remarkable how little influence was exerted in Italy by Byzantine art. Ravenna and Venice are about the only localities where we may trace any decided imitation of the type of Constantinople.

Indeed, there was little to be gained. Deduct mere barbaric splendour—barbaric perhaps in the truest meaning of the word—and there is a spirit, a genius, an energy, in the rudest churches of Latin Christendom wanting in the most sumptuous edifices of the Greeks. The very building reflects the character of their respective communities.

The knowledge of the art of building which travelled from West to East, from Rome to Constantinople, was

destined to return in an improved form; for the Arabs, who were in the early period of Mohammedanism quick, intelligent people, borrowed the dome from Byzantium, improved the form of the arch from round to pointed, and brought them back with them to Sicily in the ninth century. Specimens of their handiwork can be seen in La Tiza at Palermo and other buildings. Their successors, the Normans, who were famed for their church-building talents, perceived the beauties and refinement of Arab architecture, and made use of them in two buildings, which all who have seen will allow are gems of architecture and decoration. One of these is the Maritana or Capella Reale at Palermo, built in 1132 by Roger. The other is the Cathedral at Monreale, built by William III in 1176, which in all probability furnished the model for St Antonio at Padua and the Westphalian Cathedral of Münster.

Of all the Italian districts none can possess more fascination for the student than that peopled by the Longobardi or Longbeards. Extending from the Apennines to the Alps, it abounds with fine cathedrals and churches in the Romanesque style, called from its inventors the Lombard, and to its several peculiarities the greater part of my attention during this tour was directed, more particularly after my recent studies of their offspring in the Rhenish provinces.

During many centuries Lombardy was a fief of the German Empire. On this account, therefore, and likewise through the connexion of this part of Italy geographically with the Brenner Pass, we are not surprised to find a great resemblance existing in many particulars between the Lombardic and Rhenish Romanesque churches.

Many details of Lombardic architecture were formed out of the Byzantine; for Constantinople had between the tenth

and thirteenth centuries become the centre of the arts and industry. The Greeks of that city were the *arbitri elegantiarum* to the rest of the world, as the Athenians had been before them. Greek artists were employed in Italy after Ravenna became the capital of the Exarchate, and the Greek style adopted, as in St Vitale at Ravenna, which dates from c. 534, and in St Mark's, Venice, which was begun in 976.

Most of the larger Lombard churches are interesting from the symbolical sculptures on their façades, as well as from the impressive grandeur of their interiors. The Lombard style was never entirely suspended in Italy till the Renaissance of the classical;* and, as I have already observed, so many styles had a coeval existence in Italy, that the data by which we judge of a building in France and England lose much of their certainty when applied here.

The chief characteristics of the Lombard School are vaulted roofs in place of the wooden ones which cover the more Southern churches; pilasters and columns in place of flat buttresses; external arcades and corbel tables; the octagonal lantern with its low capping of tiles; and particularly the façades which, with their projecting porches whose columns stand upon lions and other animals, reproduced themselves throughout Italy until the extinction of Gothic before the close of the fifteenth century.

The class of front common to most of the Lombard Gothic churches is one that is included beneath a low-pitched gable, and screening the ends of the lean-to aisles. The cornice, which is generally of slight projection but deep and marked in character, is carried up the depressed

*In many of these Lombard churches a keen eye is required to detect how much is genuine Romanesque work, and how much is that later production of which one sees so many examples in Italy.

gable, whilst the whole front, divided by vertical pilasters into three or five compartments, continued right up to the cornice, cutting through whatever string-courses or horizontal mouldings (if there were any) separated the different stories or stages of the edifice.

Such buttress-like surfaces—for buttresses they cannot properly be called—were occasionally more or less enriched, sometimes so much so as to produce vertical lines of ornament continued to the entire height of the building, as at St Michele, Pavia, that city being considered the cradle of Lombardic architecture.* The usual decoration of the centre compartment is what is termed a "Wheel of Fortune" window, so called from the figures which, illustrating the Zodiac, are introduced into its moulding. The spokes of the wheel are generally pillarets radiating from a circle or a quatrefoil.

As a rule the Lombard portals are rich and elaborate, exhibiting a variety of mouldings and ornaments which are unsurpassed in Northern work for the skill and delicacy of their execution. Another feature is the open gallery immediately below the cornice of the gable surmounting the façade. Usually this open gallery is carried completely round the church above the clerestory, including the apses which terminate the choir or open from the eastern sides of the transepts, just as may be seen nearer home in the Cologne and other Rhenish churches, not a few of which exceed in grandeur of dimensions their Lombard prototypes.

One of the truest types of a Lombardo-Romanesque façade is that of the Cathedral at Casale Monferrato, to which

* It is curious to observe how this type of façade was employed, though with varying details, from the earliest to the latest epochs of Italian Gothic.

I paid an early morning visit, between trains, on my way from Asti to Vercelli. Behind this façade, which extends the whole breadth of the five-aisled church—so imposing from its four ranges of tall columns supporting round arches—is one of the most wonderful narthexes in Italy, of the richest Romanesque architecture, and presenting a system of groining to which no written description could do justice.

A small but very characteristic and pleasing front is that of St Francesco at Brescia. Then we have the richer and more imposing ones of St Zeno at Verona; of the cathedrals at Modena, Cremona and Piacenza, and, most graceful of all, the lower part of that at Ferrara. The façades of St Abbondio at Como, and of St Donino, near Parma, are small but graceful conceptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The round-arched Lombard style seems to have lasted to the end of the twelfth century. At the beginning of the thirteenth the pointed arch came to be used in conjunction with it, but whether in its round-arched or pointed phase the Lombard style has produced some of the most imposing of transalpine interiors, particularly those of St Ambrogio at Milan, St Michele at Pavia and St Zeno at Verona, the exterior of the choir and transepts of Sta Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, and the mass of the cathedrals at Trent, Modena, Parma and Piacenza, with their choirs grandly raised upon crypts and all of the highest interest, while the workmanship is, generally speaking, of the best.

Of all the Lombard cities, I know none more charming than Bergamo. Quite distinct from the new city, it lies upon the summit of a very steep hill, whence the most glorious panoramic views of the surrounding country can be enjoyed.

Here, forming the nucleus of a congeries of streets is an open place containing the Cathedral, an uninteresting speci-

men of the Italian baroque style; and the contiguous Sta Maria Maggiore, a small but most graceful Romanesque church externally, unfortunately quite modernized within, though enshrining what is very rare in Italy, a tall open rood-screen recalling the celebrated one put up by the care of good Bishop Beveridge in St Peter's, Cornhill. Here too is a very charming pointed Gothic *broletto* or civic hall, and in another part of the city we find the desecrated St Agostino, the possessor of a façade whose two windows, with their reed-like recessed jamb shafts and delicate tracery, to say nothing of the exquisite pale brown of their stonework, will alike enchant the architect and the artist.

Of the Tuscan school, which surpasses the round-arched one of Lombardy in grace, it hardly comes within my province to speak; but it is impossible to refrain from mentioning such gems as the Cathedral of Lucca and the church at Toscanella, or that picturesque group of cathedral, baptistery, leaning tower and Campo Santo, which, springing out of the greensward in a deserted corner of the city of Pisa, affords an example of the perfection of Romanesque art.

If a salient interest were required of the effect of geographical position and commercial relations upon architecture, one could not point to any more striking than is displayed by two towns, not much more than forty miles apart in precisely the same degree of latitude, in the one of which the architecture is essentially Northern Gothic in feeling—so far as Italy ever attained this feeling—while in the other, despite Gothic forms of detail, the whole feeling and treatment of the architecture breathes of Oriental fancy and sumptuousness. Architecture, like some natural growth, changes its colour, expands or contracts with the soil and the circumstances by which it is influenced. The same grand



Bergamo: Apse of Sta. Maria Maggiore.

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commercial site on the Adriatic which gave Venice the key to the stores of the "exhaustless East," which brought her into the great air of republican freedom and growth, gave to her architects also the opportunity and temptation to experiment in forms of lavish and abnormal architectural splendour, while her neighbour Verona, the pocket borough of the Scaligeri, remained in the more respectable beaten paths both politically and architecturally. Which city is, in the latter point of view, of most value may be contested; it may be correct to say that there is more for the Northern architect to learn from in Verona, more to admire and wonder at in Venice. The architecture of Verona is strictly architectural, that of Venice is to a great extent more picturesque than architectural. Verona affords admirable exemplification of the treatment of material, brick and marble especially, on purely architectural principles, yet with sufficient regard to effect and variety.

Of the result to be obtained from a simple and bold use of building materials, almost without actual "ornament," the famous tower of the Scaliger Palace is a remarkable instance; and, on the other hand, picturesqueness of detail is seen in such things as the varied marble inlay pavements, and the famous flexible iron grille before the Piazza dei Signori. Then the details of the brick architecture of St Zeno and St Fermo furnish, *inter alia*, examples of what one may term the common sense of architectural design, and yet with truly refined feeling and artistic effect. There is probably more here that is valuable for the architect to study than at Venice, where the picturesque is the predominant aim and the means whereby this is attained will not, in many cases, bear too severe a critical examination.

In Northern countries, Gothic, and especially Pointed

Gothic, was a favourite style, hallowed by religion, chivalry and art; and the inroads of any principle at variance with it could not work its overthrow without a severe struggle; whence, particularly in France, we often see noble churches of Gothic proportions almost entirely made up of Italian details. St-Eustache and St-Étienne-du-Mont at Paris are fine examples of this, as are the western façade of St Michael at Dijon, and the Church of St-Pierre at Auxerre. Among ourselves the innovation was more gradual.

In Italy the Complete Gothic style was always an importation from the North, and not introduced there until long after it was established in England, France and Germany; in consequence of which the details of Northern buildings of different periods are often found mingled in the same church. From Germany the Pointed style as it flowed westward to France passed southward to Italy, of which the nearest regions had so long acknowledged German sway; and when it was adopted, its principles were but imperfectly comprehended, and buildings were produced which, while abounding in much gracefulness and delicacy of detail, are on the whole cold, unmeaning, inartistic productions, with all the defects, and hardly one of the beauties, of the true Pointed Gothic edifices. Only so long as the Lombards retained their nationality were truly great and original buildings produced; and when their distinct character had died out, and when the indigenous race resumed its sway, their architecture deteriorated.

It seems strange that the period comprised between the middle of the thirteenth and the end of the fourteenth centuries, during which such structures as Rheims, Lincoln and Strasburg Cathedrals were slowly growing up into their present form, should, in Italy, have witnessed the produc-



St. Tomaso in Limine, near Bergamo.

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tion of churches which, however much they may astonish us by the grandeur of their dimensions, break down so completely when we come to examine their construction and details. I refer more particularly to such churches as St Antonio at Padua—a remarkable, if not altogether a pleasing, attempt of Niccola Pisano to adapt a Byzantine feature, the dome, to the Pointed style; the cathedrals at Asti, Siena, Orvieto and Florence, all in progress between 1250 and and 1350; SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the Church of the Frari at Venice; St Lorenzo and La Santa Corona at Vicenza; St Francesco, St Giovanni in Monti and St Petronio at Bologna; the Cathedral at Milan and the Certosa at Pavia. Of these the three last were only begun when the fourteenth century was drawing to its close. That these great churches are not without some beauties of their own it would be idle to deny; but taken as a whole they are certainly inferior, both in design and power of expression, to those of the round-arched style which preceded them, and immeasurably so in completeness and finish of arrangement and detail to those of the Northern style which they so vainly tried to imitate. It may be that in some respects the shortcomings of these huge edifices are not chargeable to the original design, as they depended much more for effect on their sculpturesque and polychromatic decoration, in which the Italians were always at home, and probably always surpassed the Northern nations.

In comparing Italian with Northern Gothic, we cannot but notice the difference in the windows, not only as regards their relative frequency and size but also their architectural character. In the great Northern churches the architects delighted in large and elaborate windows. In Italy they were few and far between. The brightness of the sunny

South taught its builders to exclude light and glare, and the use of coloured glass was discouraged.

It may be doubted, indeed, if such use would have been consistent with the methods of internal decoration common in Italy. Great spaces of wall covered with fresco painting might not unreasonably be thought inimical to the adoption of painted glass, through which a bright light would cast hues of undisguised variety on the carefully studied harmonies of the painter.

In England, and still more in France, the introduction of stained glass affected the churches to an enormous extent.

If we had not the wall polychromy of the Italians, our architects were no less fond of colour, and they found in large traceried windows generally, and often exaggerated clerestories in particular, a field for the application of colour on a large scale. That with which the Italians covered their walls, their Northern contemporaries placed in their windows.

The same feeling appears in the tracery. In Italian churches there is generally little of it to be seen, and where it exists it is far inferior to that to which we are accustomed in this country. The tracery of Italy, with its heavy intervals between the openings, seemed designed, as no doubt it often was, to exclude the light, and thus the very reason for the existence of the window was lost. The lack of an adequate clerestory, partly from reasons of climate and partly from the views adopted by Italian architects, is, to a Northern eye, a notable defect in their churches. The pleasing gradation of height, from aisle to nave, to which we are accustomed, is absent, and in its place there is heaviness and want of variety.

But if to one who has grown up with a love for that

elegance of proportion and that beauty of well-considered detail which almost everywhere satisfy the mind in contemplating the great churches of France and England—the majority of Italian Gothic ones appear cold and unmeaning because their authors were unable either to comprehend or to imitate the true principles of Pointed architecture—there exist churches, and portions of churches, which claim our highest admiration.

Among these must be named: St Andrew's at Vercelli; the Duomo at Como; the chapel of Sta Maria della Spina at Pisa; the west fronts of Monza, Orvieto and Siena Cathedrals, and the upper part of that at Ferrara; the forest of gigantic statue-crowned columns of Milan; the west door of Sta Anastasia, and the nave arcades of the Cathedral at Verona; and the double church of St Francis at Assisi, which, if of somewhat dubious parentage, is invaluable as an example of to what extent colour may be profitably carried, for this graceful building depends on this much more than on its architecture for its magnificence and character.

Then there are the exquisite porches such as that at Bergamo; the peculiar and generally noble campanili; the many-shafted cloisters; the perfect monuments; the use of brickwork of the best kind; and lastly, that in which Italian architecture of the Middle Ages teaches us more than any other architecture since the commencement of the world, the introduction of colour in construction. With such consummate beauty, refinement and modesty is it managed that even where it accompanies faulty construction and sham expedients it is impossible to help devoting oneself altogether to admiration of the result.

The two great Venetian churches of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and Sta Maria Gloriosa de' Frari, built by the Domini-

cans and Franciscans respectively, are entitled to more than passing notice here. They are so nearly contemporary that they may be advantageously compared. Neither displays any very striking evidence of the wealth or pride in which Venice was rapidly rising to the height of glory, for, although grandly dimensioned—each is nearly 300 feet long by 150 broad, i.e., at the transepts—they are entirely of brick, with the exception of their great circular columns, which, compared with the graceful clusters of shafts that were being employed by the English and French architects, appear somewhat clumsy; while both externally and internally they are almost devoid of ornament. Their plans, too, are very similar, being cruciform with a short eastern limb, terminating in an apse, and with the transepts projecting boldly beyond the line of the nave aisles. The Frari Church has three chapels opening out of either transept, St Giovanni has two. In the former the seven apses are all built with an angle on the axis, the great apse having six sides and the transeptal ones two apiece; whereas in the latter the choir apse has seven and those projecting from the transepts five each. In the illustration of Sta Maria de' Frari, the great, round columns, reminiscent of Low Country architecture, and the high close rood-screen, a *rara avis* in Italian ecclesiology, form the most conspicuous and interesting objects. Externally its apse may be regarded as one of the most successful specimens of thirteenth-century transalpine Gothic, which is saying a great deal.

I alluded just now to Vercelli. Situated on the Sesia, at its junction with the Cantuana, Vercelli forms a convenient *point de départ* for a group of North-Western cities which, including Asti, Novara and Casale Monferrato, are too frequently overlooked by the traveller from Milan to Turin



Venice: Apse of Sta. Maria dei Frari.

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or *vice versa*. The walls of Vercelli, which on the northern side of the city run close up to the railway, have been demolished, and their site is now occupied by shady boulevards, from which fine views of the Alps, including Monte Rosa, can be obtained; while scattered about in the different churches, examples may be seen of the work of Gaudenzio Ferrari, one of the principal ornaments of the Vercelli school of painting which flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to which belonged also Giovenoni, Defendenti Ferrari, Lanini and, we may almost add, Bazzi, who was a Vercellese.

As the train enters the station, the eye is gladdened by one of the most wonderful pieces of architectural grouping in Northern Italy—the Early Gothic church of St Andrew, a pile which would hardly seem out of place on Teutonic soil, for it is the possessor of three towers, besides a semi-detached campanile of later date, whereas it is the rule in Italy to find but one.

St Andrew's—which, by the way, enjoys a splendid situation close to the railway, enabling good general views to be had from every point, a rarity in Italy—has a special claim upon the interest of an Englishman from the fact that its originator, the Legate Walo, or Gualo, was a prominent figure in the late days of King John and the earlier ones of Henry III. After the English King had demeaned himself to become the man of the Pope, Walo figures everywhere as the champion of his master's vassal, and the denouncer of all who opposed him and his son, during whose minority he appears as one of those papal emissaries who went so far as to become the actual rulers of England. And, as became a papal emissary, he appears also as a merciless plunderer of the English clergy and nation.

The fruit of it is seen in this church of St Andrew at Vercelli, which, half English, half Italian inside, is distinctly German out. The first view of it calls up recollections of Gelnhausen, Laach and other great Rhenish basilicas, but, although German in ensemble and grouping of parts, St Andrew's reproduces none of the received types of German churches: it has no western apse, no eastern apse with flanking towers, but a square east end whose triplet of lancets, surmounted by a rose, pleasantly recalls Durham and Laon.

The style of St Andrew's at Vercelli externally is a mingling of the round-arched and the Pointed. In plan it is cruciform, with a central and western towers, and two apsidal chapels opening out of either transept—an arrangement found in English buildings at Buildwas, Kirkstall and other churches of this class and size, only that with us they are generally square. Of these chapels at Vercelli the inner one is a little longer than the outer. In addition to the towers above-mentioned, there is a very noble late fourteenth-century campanile, surmounted by small angle turrets and a well-proportioned, but not lofty, octagonal spire. This campanile is neither wholly attached to nor wholly detached from the church, and is so placed as not to stand parallel with any part of the building. This, however, is no detriment, but rather lends an added charm to a group whose grandeur would perhaps have been enhanced had greater bulk been given to the western pair of towers, which, instead of being engaged at the ends of the aisles, project beyond them as at Wells and Rouen. The central steeple is composed of a greater, surmounted by a lesser octagon, capped by a low spire of the same shape.

Red brick is the material mainly employed, but in the

arcades surrounding the upper parts of the church, and in the western façade, cut stone of a hard quality and bluish hue combines with the other material to produce a very pleasing harmony of natural colour.

Three deeply recessed doorways with round arches, one rose window, and two rows of arcades, ornament the west front, which, Lombard fashion, is divided into three portions by shallow buttresses not reaching to the top of the gable. This last is very plain, the two rows of arcades above alluded to not following its line as is usually the case in early buildings of this part of Italy. Along the north and south sides solid and ponderous brick buttresses are carried down the lean-to roofs of the aisles at the distance of each bay. The aisle windows are simple blunt-headed lancets placed high up in the walls; those of the clerestory, which is low, being spanned by shallow arches. A graceful, continuous arcade, corresponding to the lower one of the façade, surmounts the clerestory, but it plays no part whatever in the elevation of the interior, being introduced merely to mask the walling of the space between the inner vault of brick and the outer roof of tiles, which, as is usual in Italy, is very low pitched.

Within, the church has all the characteristics of a Northern Gothic building of the beginning of the thirteenth century. Its six graceful nave arches of red brick, as well as the variegated ones spanning the nave and aisles transversely, or forming the ribs of the quadripartite vaulting, are pointed and borne on slender shafts whose foliaged caps hardly bespeak the hand of an Italian. We miss, however, the string-courses and triforia, a blank wall-space alone intervening between the tops of the nave arcades and the clerestory windows, which are blunt-headed lancets placed high

up right under the vaulting cells. Such defects will perhaps only present themselves to the eyes of those who have grown up with a love for the more perfect elevations of an English or a French church, and look as though St Andrew's had caught the breath of Germany, where the absence of a triforium in early Gothic buildings is of frequent occurrence.

Still on the whole this church at Vercelli must be considered as unrivalled in purity among transalpine buildings of its period, so much so as to make us throw doubts upon its being an Italian work at all, more especially when we learn that its reputed architect was one Brigwithe, whom the Cardinal Gualo brought back with him to erect a church in this his native place.

It may not be uninteresting to remind my readers that in his design for the Crimean Memorial Church at Constantinople to which the judges in 1857 awarded the first prize, William Burges kept in view our own Northern Gothic while introducing such modifications as the difference of climate may demand or justify, and, naturally referring to Italy for examples, judiciously selected for study this noble church of St Andrew at Vercelli, built by English workmen and English money in the thirteenth century and thus under circumstances very nearly similar in the middle of the nineteenth.

In Burges's design, as well as in its prototype, so many of the English characteristics were retained as were not inconsistent with the climate; but those which were so were boldly changed.

At Novara, a bright, pleasant city about an hour's ride from Vercelli, and situated on a hill rising 545 feet above sea level, from a plain between the Sesia and the Po, the



St. Andrea at Vercelli: Interior looking East.

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Lombardo-Romanesque cathedral disappeared during the middle of the last century to give place to the present church, a vast and lofty pile in the Italianized variety of Corinthian, the detached baptistery alone being spared. It is from the designs of Antonelli, to whom we likewise owe that Pelion-on-Ossa-like central steeple which, quite ruining the effect of the elegant north-eastern campanile, now surmounts the sixteenth-century Renaissance church of St Gaudentio in the same city. Grand and imposing as is the interior of the present Novara Cathedral,* with its truly noble nave arcade of tall fluted Corinthian columns, it scarcely consoles us for the loss of the old Duomo, which, to judge from the plans, sections and elevations given by Osten in his *Bauwerke in der Lombardei*, must have been of unusual interest, however greatly it may have suffered from injudicious post-Gothic accretions which it only required a conservative hand to remove. The place of the old atrium or forecourt has been usurped by an elegant but cold Corinthian colonnade,† from whose western ambulatory we pass into the happily-spared baptistery. A work in all probability of the pre-Carolingian period, it is chiefly remarkable as containing the germ of those external galleries under the eaves of the roof which latterly formed so beautiful and characteristic a feature of the Lombardo-Romanesque style. Unlike the Baptistery at Asti, where we find an octagonal centre of modest dimensions surrounded by a very

*The breadth of the nave is fifty-two feet, that of either aisle twenty-five feet. The choir, of the same width as the nave, has no aisles.

†The eastern side of this quadrangle is formed by the imposing Corinthian portico of the Cathedral. On the other three sides a triple row of columns divides the ambulatory into two avenues, the outer one on the north being extended along that side of the nave with very picturesque effect. (See Illustration p. 362.)

wide aisle describing a complete circle, that at Novara has its dome supported on the external wall, and in a decorative sense, upon eight columns placed in its angles. These columns also support the arches by which the wall is pierced, and which admit alternately to semicircular apses and quadrilateral chapels, several of which contain groups illustrating scenes from the Passion of our Lord, whose terribly realistic treatment is intensified by the gloomy solemnity of this little building.

The Asti Baptistery attached to the Church of St Pietro in Concava* is suggestive at first sight of our St Sepulchre's, Northampton. Eight round-headed arches on stout, cylindrical columns of stone, regularly banded with brick, support the drum of the octagon, which, as it is unpierced by windows or arcades opening into a gallery, has a peculiarly gloomy effect, while those in the broad circumscribing aisle are so small that even in Italy the interior must always have been in comparative darkness. This Baptistery at Asti affords a very complete idea, on a small scale, of Lombard architecture in the beginning of the eleventh century, when it had completely emancipated itself from the classic influence, but had not yet begun to combine the newly invented forms with that grace and beauty which marks such a finished example as the circular part of the church of St Tomaso in Limine a few miles from Bergamo.

In this building, which for the propriety and elegance of its design is perhaps unsurpassed, we find the addition of an upper arcade or triforium of the same height as that

*From a board suspended in this wretched little modernized church I copied the following table of Psalms and Hymns used every Sunday and festival at Vespers throughout the year: *Salmi ed inni per Vesperi nelle dominiche e feste fra l'anno: Dixit Dominus; Laudate Pueri; Lætatus sum in his; Nisi Dominus; Lauda Jerusalem; Ave Maris Stella; Magnificat.*



St. Pietro in Concava, at Asti.

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below, which with the dome and its little cupola raises the whole height to about fifty feet. Eastwards, a small choir projects, terminating in a semicircular apse. As in Germany and England the circular part of this church of St Tomaso in Limine forms the nave, whereas in France it is always the *sanctum sanctorum*. (See Illustration p. 30.)

To these examples of round churches I would add Sta Julia and the Duomo Vecchia at Brescia, the latter, to the credit of the builders of the new cathedral hard by—a structure that takes no very high rank among works of the Italian Renaissance—being left standing. Had the same discretion been shown in other places, Italy would be able to present a far greater number of monuments of early times than she does at present, as, for instance, at Bergamo, Bologna, Pavia, Ravenna and Vercelli, where medieval churches have given place to uninteresting specimens of Revived Classic.

To sum up conclusions as to the merits of Italian Gothic, and as to the practical lessons which we may derive from it. The palm may be given unhesitatingly to the Northern developments of the style, and we may consider that a lingering reminiscence of classical forms and beauties incapacitated the Italians from doing full justice to the new architecture. To this cause we must attribute their simultaneous use of the round and pointed arch, and the indisposition to avail themselves of the constructive advantages of the latter form, because they would never allow the full use of the buttress. Their aim of preserving the repose of their buildings prevented them from using the buttress, which is thought by many to be symbolical of life, vigour and action. Hence their pointed arches were used more for ornament than for constructive reasons, and so were de-

signed in proportions which required, even from the first, the support of iron ties from impost to impost. To this very weakness may not unreasonably be attributed the beautiful trefoil-headed form of so many Italian arches. The prevalence of the ogee form may have been derived through Venice from the East.

In the frequent, and indeed almost exclusive, use of the bearing shaft and square abacus, we find another trace of classic influence, but a beauty which has been not unsuccessfully grafted upon our English Gothic. The deep, external cornices, the plate-tracery of windows, the severity of internal detail and the simplicity of groining are other Italian characteristics. Upon the whole we may learn much from the Italian style as to simplicity and repose of effect.

With such failures before their eyes as the Cathedrals of Florence and Milan, and the Church of St Petronio at Bologna, it is no wonder that, dissatisfied with their own productions in Complete Gothic, the Italians should have quickly abandoned a style which was not indigenous and never fully naturalized, for one which was their own, invented in their country, and suited to their character and requirements; so much so, that whatever little inconvenience might arise from its adoption was more than compensated for by the memories which each detail evoked, and the attempt to rehabilitate which, was the guiding idea of all the aspirations of the age. This being so, it is easy to see how soon after a brief intermixture of the Gothic and Classic, as evidenced in such works as the Capella Colleoni attached to Sta Maria Maggiore at Bergamo* and the western

*The front of this Colleoni Chapel, in the transition from the Lombard to the Cinquecento style, shews a splendid central rose in the midst of the most extraordinary and crowded assemblage of small arches,

BERGAMO.

THE COLLEONI CHAPEL (STA. MARIA MAGGIORE).



façades of the Certosa, near Pavia, and Santa Zaccaria at Venice, the ancient Roman architecture superseded the medieval, and at a time when the revival of Roman literature recalled the recollection of the greatest nation that Italy, and in some respects the world, had ever seen. Sooner or later it must have come to this, but practically the change was introduced by two of the most remarkable men the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries produced, Filippo Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti. In Italy Pointed architecture had faded utterly thirty years before the conclusion of our Wars of the Roses, and more than half a century before it had ceased to be the only form known or practised among us.

Moreover, the Pointed had not been developed as in the North, and there was a national sentiment to favour the Renaissance or the revival of forms which were in some sort identified with Roman greatness.

The two architects above named were the pioneers of the movement, and although they certainly worked more under the influence of Gothic principles than their successors, still in their works may be found germs of many architectural heresies.

Brunelleschi completed the dome of the Cathedral at Florence that had been left unfinished by Arnolfo and Giotto without even a drawing to shew how they intended to complete it.

He also completed St Lorenzo at Florence and entirely built St Spirito in the same city of his birth, and the little octagonal church Degli Angeli.

columns, pilasters, balustrades and trellis work, all covered over with the richest embroidery of sculpture spread on a ground inlaid in white, red and black marble, the whole producing one of the most charming exhibitions of external polychromatic ornamentation produced by natural means.

Alberti's best known and most admired work is St Francesco at Rimini, whose façade, had it been completed, would have been equal to anything of Palladio.

The not very happy church of St Andrea at Mantua, also due to Alberti, may be accepted as the type of all those churches which have been built in Italy from St Peter's at Rome downwards during the last four centuries, and indeed throughout Europe.

It was in St Andrea at Mantua that the coffered wagon vault, of which a noble example may be seen in St Paul's Cathedral at the junction of the dome with the nave, choir and transepts, made its reappearance. Then, coming down to a later period, we find the Church of the Madonna di Campagna built early in the sixteenth century from the designs of Sanmichele at the village from which he derived his name, near Verona; the Cathedral at Pavia, begun in 1488 on a grand scale from the designs of Cristoforo Rocchi, a pupil of Bramante, but left in a sadly incomplete state; Sta Giustina at Padua, a truly noble work commenced in 1502 from the designs of Padre Girolamo da Brescia, and completed half a century later under Andrea Morone; Sta Maria in Porto at Ravenna, built in 1553 out of the materials of the church of St Lorenzo in Cesarea; St Gaudentio at Novara, rebuilt in 1577 on the site of a much older church, by Pellegrini; the Madonna della Steccata at Parma, begun about 1521 from the plans of Francesco Zaccagni; Sta Maria della Salute at Venice by Baldassare Longhena; and the choir of the Cathedral at Bologna, by Domenico Tibaldi, both dating from the early part of the seventeenth century.

All these churches which I have selected as being unusually fine examples of the revived classical styles, prove



St. Gaudenzio at Novara.

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how completely their architects had rejected all Gothic feeling, while adhering in most cases to the old cruciform and apsidal Gothic plan, and how thoroughly they had mastered that peculiar application of classical details to modern purposes which formed the staple of architectural art in Europe for the succeeding two centuries.

In Italy the revived Italian style was really revived. It was not, in its earlier stages at least, a cold and formal imitation of the antique, no tame aping of classicality, but seizing upon its principles and animated by its spirit, those concerned in its resuscitation took into account the exigencies of the period, forming new combinations as required.

It should not, however, be forgotten that a great many medieval churches were so transformed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and so disfigured as to their ancient details as to leave considerable doubt as to their antiquity.

Every Italian city presents, unhappily, numerous examples of this mischievous process. Time after time, after surveying a graceful Pointed façade or a Romanesque apse and central lantern, did I enter to find myself confronted with one of those vicious specimens of the later revived classical school, which in the course of the eighteenth century had covered, not Italy alone, but those parts of the countries adjacent to it, with absurdities in the baroque style, which from their constant occurrence became absolutely wearisome.*

* Unfortunately, this mischievous process was not confined to Italy, but spread in post-Tridentine times to Southern Germany and Austria, where many a fine old Romanesque cathedral and church fell a victim to the mania for Italianizing everything. In Northern Germany Hildesheim and Fulda Cathedrals were completely metamorphosed internally, while in France the mischief shewed itself chiefly in the demolition of medieval jubes and the substitution of semi-pagan monstrosities.

Thanks, perhaps, in some measure to the Reformation, and to our in-

It was my intention to close this brief sketch of Christian architecture in Italy with a dissection of her churches, shewing how in their several parts they differ from those of other European countries; but the difficulty of compressing such details within prescribed limits has been found so great, that wellnigh all reference to their development, furniture and so forth must be deferred to the succeeding chapters, in which, by taking the reader to the buildings themselves, I shall endeavour to convey a clearer idea of their character by a description of their leading features.

I cannot hope that the present work, which like its companion volumes on the Cathedrals of England, France and Northern Germany, has been treated from an ecclesiological standpoint,* will be found to meet, with any completeness, the requirements which its perhaps too ambitious title may suggest. A complete history and description of the North Italian cathedrals and churches would fill at least a dozen volumes, and would be the work of a lifetime, and could only be written during a prolonged residence in the country, and as the result of a personal examination of all the important works and of the documents contained in the archives of the many cities.

Those of my readers, therefore, who "know their Italy" will doubtless discover many omissions, but it should be remembered that one of the first lessons of a traveller is renunciation—the stern resolve not to attempt to seize more than can be grasped.

The mind, like a trunk, can only hold a certain quantity;

sular prejudice, the ancient ecclesiastical buildings of England escaped the scourge.

* Ecclesiology devotes its energies not only to the architecture of the fabrics themselves but to the reverend serving and adorning of churches in the best and fittest manner possible, while antiquarianism is in itself a mere branch of secular learning.



The Certosa, near Pavia: Screen at entrance of Choir.

(This Screen has partly formed the model for those in the Sanctuary of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.)

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and, as an overcrowded trunk cannot be shut, so an overcrowded mind falls short of its natural capacity of retention. The things seen should be proportioned to the time at command. Choose what seems most interesting, and let the rest go. Hurry as you will, you cannot make one hour do the work of two.

No other country combines so many attractions or speaks with so many different voices of invitation as Italy. Not to be drawn to Italy, not to be grateful for having seen it, not to remember it with vivid interest, is to be indifferent to everything that took place before we ourselves were born. No other country has been so fruitful in great men; no one has left so large a legacy to the mind of to-day; no one has passed through such historical changes; no one presents such variety of interests. Ancient and medieval Italy together combine all that is most marked and characteristic in the national life and intellectual development of England and Greece. The paths of the statesman, the scholar, the Christian pilgrim, the artist, the architect, the ecclesiologist, all meet upon her soil as a focal point of attraction.

We may encounter annoyance and discomfort in travelling about Italy; our patience may ofttimes be tried, and our religious susceptibilities shocked; but, when we take leave of her, on our way home through France, or Switzerland, or Germany, none of these things rise up in judgement against her. As, in recalling the dead, we think only of their virtues, so, in looking back upon a country in which we have found instruction and delight, we remember only what we have learned and enjoyed. Any annoyances we may have experienced only serve as shadows in a picture to bring out the lights in stronger contrast. We part in kindness; on the dial of memory only the hours of sunshine are noted.

CHAPTER II

Trent

EVERYBODY, of course, has heard of Trent, but most persons, I fancy, connect the name far more with the several Councils held there in the middle of the sixteenth century than with its Cathedral of St Vigilius, which, notwithstanding the fact of its lying on a well-worn road, may be classed among the unedited monuments of Europe, but scant justice having been done to it by the savants and book-makers of the last century.

Although lying on a well-worn road, few churches of equal interest are, I believe, so little visited as this, and I can assure those who will pause on their journey from Innsbrück to Venice or Verona that they will be rewarded by one of the most charming and refined specimens of late Romanesque architecture in the South of Europe.

Moreover, the interest of the building is enhanced by the fact that, with two exceptions, it has descended to our own days unspoilt by Renaissance overlayings or accretions.

The Cathedral of Trent in its present condition was begun between 1027 and 1055, with the choir, by Bishop Udalric II as a first instalment towards rebuilding an earlier church. The crypt of this prelate survived until 1740, when it was destroyed to make room for the present high altar and its towering baldachino. But of the church of this Prince Bishop there is no reason to think that any trace remains. Nothing is of an earlier date than the episcopate of Bishop Altmann, who held the See from 1124 to 1149, and who

is recorded to have performed the ceremony of consecration. The nave arcade may be his work. The present character of the church was received from Bishop Frederick, who ruled from 1207 to 1218, and who between those years rebuilt the choir, enriched the church, outside and in, with marble and sculpture, and made some changes in the palace adjoining the north transept.

At Trent we have, not as in the Rhenish district where the round and pointed arch strive for the mastery, a distinct specimen of pure unadulterated Romanesque of a naturally-developed round-arched style replete with gracefulness and refinement, and flourishing unchecked on this debatable ground until nearly the middle of the thirteenth century.

Next to the Stifts-Kirche at Iniche the Cathedral of Trent is the only Romanesque church preserved in what is known as the *Kronlande Tirol.* Its cruciform plan is simple, and what is styled parallel triapsidal, i.e., with an apse on the eastern side of either transept in addition to the one terminating the choir. At the junction of the four arms is a rather tall octagonal lantern, and flanking the western façade are towers of which the north-western one has alone been carried up to any height. It is surmounted by one of those bulbous domes that, together with the steeply gabled saddleback, had accompanied me all the way from Munich.

The central cupola and the open galleries under the eaves are features familiarly German; the few and small windows, deeply and richly moulded, and chiefly the porches with their shafts resting on couchant lions,* are as distinctly Italian. The material is a reddish white Tridentine marble

*Lions were chosen to support pillars as symbolical of the vigilance and strength of the Church.

which has now assumed a sepia tint. Not only is it an excellent one for working purposes, but its durability has enabled it to withstand the changeful temperature of this part of Europe.

The view of the Cathedral from the south-east includes most of the features which I have enumerated.

The central tower, at first square and then octagonal, rises gracefully, with its tourelles on the oblique sides and its low pyramidal capping, above the choir and south transept. The latter has an attached apse and a porch, the two columns of whose outer arch are composed of four slender shafts joined together and resting upon a lion's back, and four similar shafts just separated from each other, but united in the middle by a snake and supported on the shoulders of four crouching figures—"altogether," as Street has observed, "about as strong an illustration of medieval love of change and variety as could be found. It must have been the work of a sculptor who was just a little savage with the somewhat tame uniformity of the whole of the architectural scheme of the Cathedral."

Then the aisleless choir, rendered additionally tall by the crypt, with its gallery under the eaves, and its stately apse of four stories is strikingly reminiscent of Bonn. All this contrasts with the adjoining buildings, once the episcopal palace, where we see windows of the rude German type, and an apse of clearly earlier date than that of the church.

Proceeding round the south side of the Cathedral, where we find an excrescence in the shape of a wretched domed chapel of 1682, we notice a wonderfully subdued character compared with that observable on the north. The windows, tall, narrow round-headed ones, are placed high up in the wall and have their splays simply moulded, whereas those

TRENT.

THE CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



on the north have three orders of shafts besides other mouldings. The window on the north side of the tower flanking the west front has the capitals of its shafts composed of heads. Along the entire wall of either side above the windows is a graceful continuous arcade, each arcade being vaulted separately, and transversely to the axis of the church. The pillarets supporting the arches of these arcades are coupled, and being quite free from the wall give an uninterrupted passage way behind them. The aisle roofs are of the lean-to type, and the clerestory windows, very small circular ones, are arranged in bays marked out by flat shallow buttresses and surmounted by a corbel table. The façade of the north transept has one large wheel window; that of the southern one two tall round-headed ones. The west front is of a noble simplicity. It has a round-arched doorway with five orders of shafts, some square, some round. The capitals are of the *à crochet* type, and this carving being carried all round the tops of the shafts without any break has a peculiarly rich effect. In the tympanum are traces in fresco of the Blessed Virgin and Child with Saints. Above is a large circular window of sixteen divisions, its spokes radiating from an inverted quatrefoil. The several orders of mouldings are of a rich and rope-like character, and at the top of the rim is a seated figure of our Lord, while lower down, also in the rim, are the evangelistic symbols. Over this is a smaller circle, and following the line of the gable are arcades in the Italian fashion.

Very noble is the doorway within the barrel-vaulted south-eastern porch already alluded to, with its varied foliage in the capitals of the columns. The lintel represents the vine, and in the tympanum is a carved figure of St Vigilius.

The north-eastern apse and doorway are concealed on

the exterior by a building forming part of the episcopal palace, a pile of singular construction, and dating from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries. The Venetian pointed upper story, with its forked battlements, was the work of Falconetto, a Veronese architect.

With recollections from books and hearsay of the reckless treatment to which the interior of many a Romanesque and Pointed Italian church has been subjected by the Renaissance architect, it was with a trembling hand that I drew aside the amber-coloured curtain which the evening breeze was stirring gently within the great western portal, and passed into the nave of the great Duomo at Trent.

Great was my joy therefore to find before me one of the grandest and most unspoilt Gothic interiors of the many which I visited during this tour. Its gloom—doubly impressive at the evening hour—and its low clerestory of very small windows are quite Italian.

The absence of triforium is also Italian and sometimes German. The piers, supported on quite attic bases and compounded of a cruciform core, with slender shafts at the ends of and in the angles formed by the arms, recall those in the Westphalian minsters of Herford and Paderborn, only at Trent the shaft supporting the transverse vaulting ribs is carried up through the spandrels of the round-headed arches to meet the string-course from which the groining immediately springs. Carried up as they are to a height which is rare in Romanesque work of any kind, the proportions of these piers at Trent are really more like those of the best thirteenth-century French Gothic such as we see at Rouen and Coutances.

The nave has six bays, but a seventh is formed by that opening into the space beneath the western towers. Here

the arch on either side is pointed, and the great pier from which it springs being free from a vaulting shaft presents an uninterrupted group of eight slender shafts which combine to form the most pleasing spectacle in the various views across the nave. From the capitals of these piers rises an arch uniform in height with those of the nave arcades, and supporting the organ gallery which spans the west end to the depth of the bay opening into the space beneath either tower. To this gallery, which is vaulted below, and has a balcony composed of a colonnade of red marble pillarets with foliaged capitals, is an ascent of steps made in the thickness of the aisle wall on either side commencing at the fourth bay from the east.

The arcades opening on to these stone staircases—the most graceful of the Cathedral's internal features—have semicircular arches rising from graceful shafts.

In the aisles the transverse arch separating each vaulting compartment springs from a flat pilaster having a slender shaft on either side of it.

The half piers to the arches supporting the north and south-west towers are very noble and are identical in plan with the great isolated ones of the arcades. Under the west window, which is spanned by the organ loft and glazed in vulgar patches of red and green, is a large frescoed figure, seated and in the act of blessing.

The western arch of the lantern does not rise to the full height of the nave; consequently there is some wall space left above it, against which a large crucifix is placed. The whole of the church east of the nave is very German, and strikingly reminiscent of such examples as St Quirinus at Neuss and the minster at Werden, particularly as regards the eastern limb with its apse and intermediate aisleless bay.

Imposing even now, this choir at Trent must have been doubly so before the lowering of its floor in the eighteenth century to give height to the baldachino over the high altar. As a work of its age and class this ciborium is very grand with its tall twisted Corinthian columns, and does not seem so out of place amidst its Gothic surroundings as one would be led to suppose. For in a continental church, and more particularly in an Italian one, there is so much that is reminiscent of Rome that one incongruity more or less makes little difference. Habit causes each part to be considered independently, and the relations between them and the whole are generally disregarded.

The small apse opening from the eastern side of either transept has a semi-domical vault with two rather large ribs. Admirers of medieval frescoes will be gratified by the tolerably well-preserved ones on the eastern wall of the south transept and on the northern wall of the opposite one, while the student of ecclesiastical costume will find much to engage his attention in the five grand upright figures of bishops in alto-rilievo and similar to those in Mayence and Würzburg Cathedrals, which are affixed, somewhat to the detriment of the frescoes on the north wall. Above the central effigy is a lovely little gallery with twisted shafts at the angles, a charmingly sculptured cresting, and a front relieved by two plain shields and a floriated cross within a circle. Enclosing a small space of the pavement at the angle formed by the north transept with the nave aisle is a gracefully wrought iron screen of rather large quatrefoils, which, as they are not enclosed within circles, present some very effective combinations viewed at a little distance. The bunches of leafage terminating the upright bars of this screen are quite Italian, and in all probability have furnished the



Trent: Interior of the Cathedral, looking East.

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model for certain works of the kind executed in modern times among ourselves.

In the aisleless eastern limb are some good Renaissance stalls continued in the manner almost universal in Italy round the walls of the apse, whose semi-domical roof is enriched with a grand, calm frescoed figure of St Vigilius on a gold ground, terminating the vista in a very impressive manner.

Colour has also been applied to the bay between the lantern and the apse, each cell of the quadripartite vault displaying the emblem of an evangelist.

Altogether this duomo at Trent is a very noble building; indeed, it fascinated me to such an extent that it was not until the voice of the sacristan echoing through the distant aisles with his oft-repeated cry, "Si chiude," that I could prevail upon myself to let the curtain fall upon such a combination of attractions.

When I re-entered, shortly after nine o'clock in the morning of Whitsun Eve, the Office preparatory to the benediction of the font was being recited at the high altar by three priests in violet chasubles. This comprised certain portions of scripture called the *Prophetiæ*,* interspersed with prayers and the following "tracts": "Cantemus Domino; gloriose enim honorificatus est" (Exod. xv)—Moses's

* The twenty-second chapter of Genesis, recording the Sacrifice of Isaac; the fourteenth chapter of Exodus in which (commencing at the twenty-fourth verse) we read of the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea; the thirty-first chapter of Deuteronomy (v. 22 to the end), containing God's charge to Joshua, and a song to testify against the people; the fourth chapter of Isaiah, in which the prophet foretells that in the extremity of evils Christ's kingdom shall be a sanctuary; the third chapter of Baruch (v. 9 to end); and the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel as far as v. 14.

The Tracts were sung to the ancient plain chant, which may be found in the little *Office for Holy Week* (*Officium Hebdomadæ Sanctæ*).

song of thanksgiving for the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea; "Attende cœlum et loquar, et audiat terra verba ex ore meo" (Deut. xxxii)—the song of Moses setting forth God's mercy and vengeance; and "Vinea facta est dilecto in cornu" (Isa. v), in which, under the parable of a vineyard, God executes His severe judgement.

These being ended, the chief officiant having assumed a violet cope, went in procession with attendant ministers—the cross and candles being carried before them—to the font, the cantors singing as they went a portion of the forty-second Psalm, "Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks."

Arrived at the font, which at Trent is situated at the west end of the south aisle, the following prayer was recited: "Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, respice propitius ad devotionem populi renascentis, qui, sicut cervus, aquarum tuarum expetit fontem: et concede propitius; ut fidei ipsius sitis, baptismatis mysterio, animam corpusque sanctificet." Then followed another prayer succeeded by versicles, the *Sursum corda*, *Gratias agamus* and a long "Preface," at certain stages of which the priest divided the water in the form of a cross, and poured some towards the four quarters of the world. Then, dipping the end of a candle in the water, he prayed in musical recitative that the power of the Holy Ghost might descend into the font.* The candle being taken out, he dipped it deeper, repeating the last petition in a somewhat higher voice, and, plunging it in a third time, he repeated the petition in a still higher voice. After which he breathed upon the water in the form of the letter Ψ, and poured some of the "oil of the catechumens" into the font in the form of a cross, then some of the chrism, next some

*"Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus sancti."

of both together, each being accompanied by suitable words of prayer.

These ceremonies, of which I and two or three old crones were the sole spectators, concluded, the procession returned to the choir where the Litany was sung by two cantors in violet copes, and when the suffrage "We sinners do beseech Thee to hear us, O Lord God, and that it may please Thee to rule and govern Thy Holy Church universal in the right way," was reached, the priest and his assistant ministers rose and repaired to the sacristy to put on their red vestments for the first Solemn Mass of Pentecost, which began immediately after the "Christe, audi nos ! Christe, exaudi nos !" of the Litany, with the *Kyrie Eleison*. The organ, situated in the stone gallery at the west end, already alluded to, now broke in with ravishing effect. It was, however, only used for the interlude which, as I subsequently found in all the Italian cathedrals I visited at the time of service, is played between every clause of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Credo*, etc., the plain chant being unaccompanied. But when the Offertorium, *Emitte Spiritum tuum, et creabuntur* had been sung, the instrument was heard to great advantage in a short piece, but of so solemn and church-like a character, that music and architecture seemed on this occasion at least to be thoroughly in accord.

CHAPTER III

Verona

ALTOGETHER the Cathedral at Trent was far finer than books or common report had led me to expect, and it not was until it was more than fully time to catch the midday train for Verona that I could allow myself to lift the curtain veiling the western entrance, and to let it fall upon such a combination of attractions.

After winding through the defile for some time the train suddenly emerged, and I found myself at last on the sunny vine-clad plains of Lombardy.

Verona, which was reached at five o'clock on a lovely June afternoon, a few fleecy clouds alone relieving the true Italian blue of the sky, is partly situated on the Adige, partly on the declivity of a hill, which forms the last swell of the Alps, and partly on the skirts of an immense plain extending from these mountains to the Apennines. The river, which divides Verona into two equal parts, sweeps through it with rapid current in a bold curve forming a peninsula, within which the whole of the ancient and the greater part of the modern city is enclosed.* The hills behind the city are rich in villas and gardens where the graceful cypress and the tall poplar predominate over the bushy ilex and spreading laurel. The plains before the city are streaked with rows of mulberry trees,

*Verona Athesi circumflua—Verona by the encircling Adige bound.—*Silius Italicus.*

This river has on many occasions brought woe to the city. During a stroll along the Corso Cavour, I stopped to read such inscriptions as these on the posts of doorways, "Huc usque aqua inundavit, 1567;" ditto, III Oct. MDCXII; ditto, 31 Oct. MDCXVII; ditto, Sept. 1767; ditto, 1865.

and shaded with vines climbing from branch to branch, and spreading in garlands from tree to tree, just as they used to do in Virgil's day:

> Viminibus salices fecundæ frondibus ulmi,
> At myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello
> Cornus ; Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus.
>
> *Georg.*, Lib. II.

I alighted at the Porta Vecchia station, and dispensing with the services of the multifarious vehicles drawn up outside it, shouldered my knapsack and walked up into the city, presently emerging upon the picturesque Piazza delle Erbe. Here a restaurant of inviting appearance presenting itself, I inquired whether a *camera da letto* was to be had, and being answered in the affirmative, desired to be shown to it forthwith. Accordingly I was ushered upstairs to, and provided for two liras a day with, as delightful a bed-sitting-room as could be wished for, its windows commanding the picturesque market far down below where the many-hued umbrellas composed quite a brilliant parterre, and where a piano organ was playing *La mia Letizia*; so that I felt now that I really was in Italy, and for the first time too. Some ablutions having been performed, and the dust of a long afternoon's travel brushed off, I hastened to mingle with the busy throng below, and, for the evening at least, to enjoy a stroll about the city in a vague and experimental manner, taking churches, palaces, gateways, piazzas, public gardens and all the other delights of an Italian city as they should present themselves; insomuch that I retired to bed, after a very pleasurable *reconnoitre*, completed by a cool ramble by the side of the Adige, to dream of amber-coloured curtains waving in the evening breeze at Giottoesque portals; of lamps and candles re-

flected in marble pavements; of graceful campanili whence the melody of bells seemed to be ever floating over this city of brick and marble; and of glimpses caught through gateways of sleepy courtyards having stately palaces within, as silent as tombs.

Three old cities, far apart across the whole breadth of a continent, enable us to form a fair idea of what the whole of Europe may have been in the palmy days of the Middle Ages. They are Lübeck, Nuremberg and Verona. Each tells its own tale; each is stamped with the influence of national peculiarity; and each is remarkable, *inter alia*, the one as the city of brickwork, the second as that of stone, and the last as that of marble. In Lübeck nothing but brick was ever seen; in Nuremberg stone was used with an excellence seldom rivalled, whilst in Verona, though brick was most skilfully manipulated, the great aim of its architects was ever to introduce the marbles in which the district was so rich, with the result that the natural polychromatic treatment of her churches constitutes one of their most enchanting features.

Of the materials in which the neighbourhood of Verona is so rich may be named a fine limestone, a close-grained cream-coloured and a rich, mottled red marble, all of which are largely used, not only in Verona, but also in Venice and other cities of the province. The same quarry produces both kinds, and indeed the same block is sometimes half red and half white. Here are to be found grouped several varieties of Italian Gothic—the Lombard, the Florentine and the Venetian. To the first must be assigned the noble basilica of St Zeno and a large part of the Cathedral, both of which were mainly rebuilt in the twelfth century. Each is a noble specimen of the Lombard style,



Verona: General view of the City from the North.
(Sta. Anastasia in the foreground.)

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with few single light windows and with the walls decorated externally by a series of pilasters, and by alternating bands of red and white in stone or brick. The arches of this period are semicircular, and rest on round columns and capitals richly carved with grotesque figures and foliage, as may be seen in the illustration of the crypt at San Zeno,* where the versatility shewn in the sculptured ornamentation is truly marvellous. Most of the external ornamentation is usually concentrated on the western front, which here, as well as in the later façades of Parma, Piacenza, Cremona and Modena, has often a lofty arched porch on marble columns resting on griffins or lions devouring their prey. To the Florentine period belong Sta Anastasia; the adjacent elegant little chapel of St Pietro Martire, upon which Ruskin has passed so high a eulogium; the porches of St Fermo Maggiore and Sta Eufemia; several more or less mutilated palaces; and the tombs of the Scaligers outside the Church of Sta Maria Antica.

The Venetian period was one of little vigour or originality at Verona, the buildings of this date, 1400-1480, being to a great extent tame copies of Venetian examples.

The Early Renaissance developed into very exceptional beauty in Verona mainly through the genius of Fra Giocondo (1435-1514), a native, who was at first a friar in the monastery of Sta Maria in Organo. He rose to great celebrity as an architect, and designed many graceful and richly sculptured buildings in Venice, Rome, and even in France, using classical forms with no little taste and skill, combining them with much of the freedom of the older medieval architects. In rich and delicate sculptured decorations he chiefly excelled.

* Page 94.

The Roman Gateway of Gallienus supplied a special form of window with a circular arch on pilasters surmounted by a cornice. This was copied by Fra Giocondo, and has been used by countless architects down to the present day with little or no variation, a remarkable history for a design. It was invented in the third century, revived in the fifteenth and again copied in the nineteenth.

Another of the leading architects of the next stage of the Renaissance was the Veronese Michele Sanmichele whose works, little known in England, are the chief embellishment of this ancient city.

Sanmichele was a great military engineer, and designer of an immense number of fine palaces, not only in Verona, but in other Venetian cities. In the city of his birth specimens of Sanmichele's work may be seen in the Church of St Giorgio and the marble screens which enclose the choirs of the Cathedral and St Fermo.

Though stately and graceful in proportion, the works of this architect shew a tendency towards that dull scholastic classicism which, in the hands of Palladio at the neighbouring city of Vicenza, put an end to all real life in the art.

Mr Street's book, *The Brick and Marble of North Italy*, will be found very pleasant reading at Verona.

In its original form it probably stimulated the interest, among English architects, in that combination of brick with marble in veneered or particoloured design which has so largely characterized the architecture of medieval Italy, and the avowed interest in which gave rise in a great measure to the fancy for that chequered and "stripy" brickwork in England which critics have stigmatized by various contemptuous epithets. It can hardly be said that the influence of this form of Italian architecture on our

own modern practice was in the main for good. We imitated mostly the less refined, certainly the less worthy, forms of it; we got the brick *without* the marble for the most part.

That the process of marble veneer was not employed here, at least not in that extensive and wholesale manner in which it is found in Italy, is a matter for congratulation; it is not in the highest sense an architectural form of treatment, it has more of the essence of cabinet work than of architecture, and at best is only suited in expression to a climate of mild weather and bright suns.

But the adoption of brick and marble in combination might have been very well used here, but it has been almost neglected, except in so far as the employment of marble shafts goes. Part of the charm of brick and marble combination consists in the contrasts of texture — the smooth, hard marble with the rough brick—and in the delicate tints obtainable from the former. We have a good deal of this material within reach, but, as yet, it has hardly been made the most of, even where expense was no obstacle to any wish or fancy of the architect. The Northern architect is like the refractory sons of the bishop in Browning's *Men and Women*, where the prelate orders his tomb in St Praxed's Church:

> There, leave me there!
> For ye have stabbed me with ingratitude
> To death—ye wish it—God, ye wish it! Stone—
> Gridstone, a-crumble! Clammy squares which sweat—
> As if the corpse they keep were oozing through—
> And no more *lapis* to delight the world!

He refuses the marble and will give us only stone.

The campanile had been my constant companion all the way from Trent, but it was not until Verona was reached that I was enabled to make its closer acquaintance. Seen at

a distance, there is a monotony about this feature of Italian church architecture which we never, or rarely, find about the towers of Northern peoples; yet when we come to examine it more closely, we find that, notwithstanding a sameness in the general scheme, there is generally a very great variety in its treatment, and when on our return home we conjure up our recollections of the Italian churches, there is perhaps no feature which is remembered with greater pleasure than the campanile. Usually an Italian church, whether of the Romanesque, Pointed or Renaissance periods, has only a single campanile. It is extremely rare to find such a group of towers as so frequently occurs in Germany. Had the Italian architects built churches with pairs of towers attached to the façades, and lantern towers on the crossings, the distant view of many a Lombard, Veronese or Venetian city would undoubtedly have been more striking than it is. In its simplest form the campanile has a grandeur and a unity of expression productive of a very dignified effect at a very slight expenditure of ornamentation; what at once distinguishes it from the tower which follows Northern models being its height and absence of buttresses. The usual mode of ascent is by a staircase in the thickness of the wall, thus obviating the necessity of any such excrescence as a turret; the outline therefore assumes a severely square and simple character, and unlike as it is to that of most of our steeples, is generally very striking. Not only is it from the absence of buttresses, but from the presence of those horizontal lines which seem to bind the building together, that the height of an Italian campanile is increased. The fault sometimes found with the beautiful Angel Tower at Canterbury is the want of the latter feature. In the towers of Italy such lines always more or less prevail, their archi-



Verona: West front of the Cathedral.

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tects seeming never to have forgotten the marked horizontal feeling of the classic orders, the examples of which were constantly before their eyes. The tall, slender, unbuttressed tower, with its mid-wall shafts in the belfry stage, with its ornaments, if it has any, confined to flat pilasters and arcades, is the tower common to all Western Europe up to the eleventh century. We find it in England, in Southern France, notably along the banks of the Saône, and all over Germany, from the Falls of the Rhine to the mouth of the Elbe. But Italy is its home, and it is in Italy alone that we can study its origin and meaning.

As regards position, the campanile stands either placed in contact with the exterior wall of the side aisle or at a little distance from it, or else it surmounts one of the compartments of the aisles. But, wherever it is, it always seems to have been planted wherever it happened to be most convenient, and with but little reference to its effect upon the remainder of the building. A fine example of the simple grandeur to which the campanile sometimes attains is presented by that of St Giacomo di Rialto at Venice. Here there are two very lofty stages, each arcaded with two sunk arches on each face, and divided by a stone string-course. The arches have a trefoiled cusping and labels moulded with an enrichment of nail heads. The highest stage has a large open arch on each face, under which it was no doubt intended to place the bells in the Italian fashion by which they can be seen as well as heard from below. In this example, as in others I have observed, the great charm is the extreme simplicity of the whole design. At the same time there is nothing mean or paltry about it, the scale and the solidity of workmanship being both very great. There are several classes or schools of campanili, as, e.g., the Pisan, the Vene-

tain and Veronese, the Genoese and the Florentine. As it is with the second of these classes that the present chapter is most concerned, a few words on their respective peculiarities may not be out of place.

The Venetian and Veronese campanili are somewhat different. The former have generally less subdivisions into stages than those of the Pisan group, being arcaded with very slightly recessed lofty arcades.

I have already mentioned one of the best examples of this kind of tower—St Giacomo di Rialto—executed, as are all the Venetian examples, in brick. The tower of St Zeno at Verona is similar in idea, being entirely unpierced with openings until near the summit, where it has two low stages, each pierced with an arcade of three compartments. In all these examples the pilasters at the angles are distinctly marked, and their general finish is by a low spire, often, as in the Veronese churches of Sta Anastasia, St Fermo, St Lorenzo, Sta Maria Antica, and St Zeno, circular in plan with angle pinnacles at the base, and constructed with bricks moulded with a circular end, treatment which imparts to them a cone-like appearance. Sometimes we find an octagonal termination to the campanili, as in the churches of the Frari and Sta Fosca at Venice. At Padua the low pyramidal capping is very frequent, occurring also in the noble Lombardic Romanesque basilicas of St Ambrose at Milan, and St Michele at Pavia. The campanili of Piacenza, Parma and Pavia Cathedrals, and those of Modena and Cremona—called respectively *La Ghirlandina* and *Il Torrazzo*—may be accepted as four of the finest and most imposing examples of this feature in their various forms.

There can be no doubt but that each type of tower is appropriate to its *locale*, and if transplanted loses the greater

part of its charm, for it was originally designed on common-sense principles. It needed, however, a strong effort on the part of an English architect during the foreign Gothic mania of half a century ago to steer his barque clear of this dangerous rock, owing to the beauty of the surroundings which tempted him to be heedless of risk. Let the portraiture of the campanile be by all means transferred to the sketch-book, but do not let the more substantial image of it be attempted elsewhere in England than in a town. With what success this has been achieved, those who know the early pointed campanile of St James the Less in Upper Garden Street and the neighbouring Byzantine one of the Roman Cathedral at Westminster are able to judge.

Bells for summoning to worship were scarcely known in Europe till the close of the sixth century, and were then first heard in monasteries. In primitive times the faithful used to be apprised, from day to day, of the hours for religious assembly by their ministers addressing congregations; or in some cloisters by the sound of a trumpet breaking on the silence of the cell at the hour of prayer.

We seem to perceive an allusion to this practice in the seventh verse of the Sunday morning hymn, *Omnes una celebremus* :

> In eâdem sumitur
> Tuba evangelii
> Prædicandi populo.

The Italian terms *campana*, *campanile*, originate in a tradition, not now admitted, that the first sacred bells were heard at Nola in the Neapolitan province of Campania, now Terra di Lavoro. Towers began to be built for the reception of bells soon after their introduction in the sixth century. The earliest known instance occurs about A.D. 560

at Merida in Portugal; but the first belfry was not raised in Rome till about the year 770. It was ordered by Pope Stephen III and was raised beside the great basilica of St Peter. It is probable that the campanili of the Ravenna churches were not originally built for the reception of bells, as they appear to be contemporary, or at any rate very little subsequent to the basilicas whose positions they indicate. The beautiful form of blessing, popularly called the *baptizing*, of bells was inserted in the Pontifical in the course of the eighth century; and as the religious use of these instruments for exciting memories or devotion became multifarious, bells were introduced, first in the eleventh century at the most solemn passages in rites, and in processions at marriages and funerals; and were ordered in 1095 by Urban II to be rung before sunrise and sunset, for inviting all to pray by the chimes, called, from the first words in the orison appointed, the *Angelus* and the *Ave Maria*.

It is Whit-Sunday, and an Italian summer morning. The waking thought that it was to be kept at Verona was transport! I do not think my eyes ever opened upon so lovely a day. The sky was without a speck; and the air just seemed to me to steep every nerve and fibre of the frame with repose and pleasure. Now and then in England I have felt a June morning that approached it, but never the degree, the fullness, the sunny softness of this exquisite clime. It tranquillized the mind as well as the body; it was impossible not to feel content and genial. Early I was astir, and after a ramble of three hours amid churches, and many a shady *viotollo* of white houses moodily frowning at the other houses over the way, returned by the side of the turbulent Adige to an alfresco breakfast in the Piazza delle Erbe—so fanciful, quaint and picturesque, formed

by an extraordinary and rich variety of fantastic buildings, and dominated by the campanile of the Piazza dei Signori, a magnificent, simple and unbroken piece of brickwork nearly three hundred feet high.

The meal concluded, I sought the Duomo* for High Mass. The marble pavement of the nave was railed off from the rood-screen to the west door, just inside which, on the floor, the eye was caught by the text chosen by the saintly Keble for the title page of his *Christian Year*—"In patientiâ vestrâ possidebitis animas vestras."

Inquiry as to why the centre of the nave was thus barricaded elicited the information that the Cardinal Bishop of Verona would administer the Sacrament of Confirmation at the conclusion of the morning offices.

At half-past nine Terce was sung by the canons in the apse and by a choir of men and boys in the garb of everyday life in the gallery, before the organ which, in accordance with almost universal usage in Italy, is placed above the stalls. At Verona, and indeed in many another great Italian church, there are two organs thus situated, the cases of which are truly magnificent, being flanked by two lofty Corinthian columns, while the pipes are protected by painted shutters, thrown back when the instrument is in use.

While Terce was in progress, the candles surmounting Sanmichele's beautiful but not incongruous Ionic marble screen, were lighted, their feeble rays being dimmed by the great shafts of sunlight which streamed in through the southern windows.

The psalms were most interesting, the verses being

* Duomo, the Italian equivalent for cathedral, is derived from the Latin word *Domus*, which was usually applied to churches *par excellence*. The cupola generally prevailing in old churches obtained the name of *Dome*.

sung alternately to the plain chant by the canons, and in concerted parts by the choir in the gallery, not however, I thought, with much feeling or delicacy.

Such a rendering was quite a novelty, as I had never heard the psalms chanted in a continental church except to the Gregorian tones, with, in France, the occasional addition of an embroidery in the shape of the *faux bourdon.* Bernabei and other learned contrapuntists, with a full appreciation of the grave simplicity of their style and a careful adaptation of the four- and five-part harmony of the medieval schools to the modes in which they are written, have thus set the psalm tones; and Palestrina, Felice Anerio, the two Nanini, Luca Viadana and a host of their contemporaries have supplemented them with innumerable *faux bourdons* intended to alternate with unison verses of the simple chant.

A fine MS. collection of these psalms was discovered in Rome by Dr Burney, whose autograph copy of it is now preserved in the Library of the British Museum under the title of *Studij de Palestrina;* and many others are in existence both in MS. and in print. Proske has included four of Nanini's psalms in the *Musica Divina.*

Giovanni Bernardino Nanini was born about the middle of the sixteenth century at Vallerano, and died about 1620. His elder brother, Giovanni Maria, is remembered chiefly by his motet for six voices, *Hodie nobis cœlorum Rex,* a noble composition annually sung in the Sistine Chapel on the morning of Christmas Day. His *Hodie Christus natus est,* in which the characteristic "Noel, Noel" is introduced with fine effect, will also be found in Proske's *Musica Divina.*

Terce having concluded with the hymn *Veni Creator*



Verona: Interior of the Cathedral, looking East.

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Spiritus * and the versicles and responses proper for Whit-Sunday, a procession entered.

It was not large, but could hardly have been more picturesque, comprising as it did the cross- and taper-bearers, a few persons in cassocks and not very becoming surplices, the Bishop of Verona in his robes as cardinal and his two domestic attendants, remarkably handsome men in dark blue coats, lace cravats, white silk knee-breeches, and stockings set off by shoes from which gleamed silver buckles.

The procession did not at once enter the choir but passed across the Cathedral to a chapel in the south aisle, where the Bishop offered up some preliminary devotions, the organist playing meanwhile (tell it not at St Paul's or Westminster!) the slow movement from the overture to *Zampa!* But then one does not feel surprised at anything he may see or hear in an Italian place of worship. Mr Street in his *Brick and Marble* alludes to the abominably light opera music he heard in many a church, and which sounded, as may readily be imagined, very discordant within their solemn walls, adding that he had even heard a polka played by the organist of St Mark's, Venice; and a friend whose veracity is not to be impugned informs me that one of the organ pieces played during High Mass at Milan was the *Largo al factotum* from Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia!*

The Bishop was to pontificate, and while he was being

* There seems little reason to doubt that this hymn was the composition of Charlemagne. That Emperor was almost as much renowned for his scholarship as for his military achievements, and it is remarkable that the frame and diction of this ever-famous hymn quite fall back on the older and correct models. As a slight corroborative piece of internal evidence, it may be observed that Charlemagne was much interested in the propagation of the *Filioque* doctrine, and that the last verse but one goes out of its way to introduce it.

vested in red chasuble, mitre, etc., the choir up in the organ gallery sang the Introit: "The Spirit of the Lord filleth the world, Alleluia! and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice"; not, however, to the ancient plain chant with which I was so familiar, but to a setting in concerted parts. This was disappointing, as was also the sequence, *Veni sancte Spiritus*, that sublime composition which critics of all ages concur in regarding as one of the masterpieces of Latin poetry. Clichtovaeus* speaks of its "wonderful sweetness," of its "agreeable brevity along with a profusion of ideas," and of the "elegant grace of its structure," and well believes that the author whoever he was, when he composed this piece, "had his mind transfused by a certain heavenly meekness, by which, the Holy Spirit being its author, he uttered so much sweetness in so few words," while Archbishop Trench alludes to it in his *Sacred Latin Poetry* as "the loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin poetry," adding that it could only have been composed "by one who had been acquainted with many sorrows, and also with many consolations."

In medieval times the *Veni sancte Spiritus* was styled *The Golden Sequence*. It is not distinguished by any very great and absolute originality of idea, for in its leading thoughts it was already influenced by earlier pieces, such as the *Sancti Spiritus adsit*, the *O Ignis Spiritus Paracliti*, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the *Veni sancte Spiritus, reple;* but it combines a stately grace and perfect rhythmic melody, and a faculty of saying just the right thing in just the fitting words, in such a measure as to disarm criticism, and at once to defy comparison with any other hymn in any other language, and to make it almost impossible to present an adequate trans-

* *Elucidatorium*, Paris, 1516, f. 17.

lation.* It is in five stanzas consisting of six lines of seven-syllable trochaic verse (trochaic dimeter catalectic), and I quote the first stanza, for the benefit of those not acquainted with the original, to show its structure:

Veni sancte Spiritus,
Et emitte cœlitus
Lucis tuæ radium.
Veni pater pauperum,
Veni dator munerum,
Veni lumen cordium.

Happily this hymn was left unaltered when it was retained, together with the three other greater sequences, *Victimæ Paschali*, *Lauda Sion* and *Dies Iræ*, in the revised Roman Missal of 1570.

With respect to the sequence, it has been discovered, from an ancient manuscript *Troper* of the reign of Etheldred II, i.e., the end of the tenth century, in the Bodleian Library, that it was then in general use, having been first introduced by Alcuin and Pope Adrian II, as appears from a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris. A rubric in the *Troper* reads thus:

Hic Tibi cantori sunt cuncta *Sequentia* præsto,
Quæ circulo annorum modulantur ordine pulchro.

But the word Sequence up to the year 1020 or 1030 meant simply the *neuma* or succession of notes sung to one syllable at the end of the Alleluia which concluded the Gradual—the *Caudatum Alleluia*, as it was sometimes called. When Notker Balbulus,† or as some liturgiologists con-

* Perhaps the two best of countless translations are those given by Revv. Edward Caswall in his *Lyra Catholica*, and John Mason Neale in *The Hymnal Noted*.

† The Abbey of St Gall, in Switzerland, the home of Notker Balbulus, the inventor of sequences, was, of course, the headquarters of their science and their practice. Francis de Gasperg, abbot from 1504 to 1529, en-

tend, Alcuin, first introduced his rhythmical words instead of the *neuma* or *sequence*, they were at first called *proses*, but in process of time took the name of that which they supplanted, and were called sequences. Since 1100 *sequence* and *prose* have been usually convertible terms, though not always, for perhaps the Notkerian or syllabic kind are more commonly called proses than sequences, and the Victorine, or rhythmical and rhyming, verses more commonly sequences than proses; and the hymns, interspersed with Alleluias (found in the *Sarum Processional*), which were sung in processions in Christmas and Eastertide at Matins or at Vespers bear the peculiar name of proses. The derivation of the new from the old Sequence (in other words of the Prose from the Tailed Alleluia) gives rise to the following Sarum Rubric: "Deinde clerici incipiunt Alleluia, sine pneumate: quod per totum annum observatur, quando dicitur sequentia tantum." In other words, when they gave the substitute for the neuma, they were not to give the neuma also: "Quando vero non habetur Sequentia, tunc dicitur pneuma a toto choro." In the Southern churches the priest sometimes intoned the sequence, but this was not the case in England.

Sequences are distinguished from hymns (1) by their use in the liturgy only, viz. between the Epistle and Gospel; (2) by the greater freedom and inequality of their metre, and by the frequent employment, when they rhyme at all, of prolonged concatenations of double rhymes; (3) by their

trusted one of his monks, Joachim Brander, in 1507 with the task of collecting and editing a complete collection of sequences and antiphons. Brander performed his task with diligence, and the esteem in which the completed work was held—it was finished in 1510—is amply testified by the sumptuous manner in which a copy, now lost, is said to have been illuminated and adorned by the Abbot.



Verona: South Porch of the Cathedral.

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much greater length; (4) by the difference of their melody, which, instead of recurring regularly, recurs partially and irregularly.

The Northern churches, as England, Sweden, Brandenburg, Cologne and Utrecht, and more particularly Iceland, were much more partial to the sequence than Italy and Spain; many missals, as our own, employed them as regularly as Collect, Epistle and Gospel, till at length there was a perfect mania for composing them. In German missals of the fifteenth century there are frequently eight or ten for choice for one festival; but in 1536 the Council of Cologne allowed their omission; and that of Trent half a century later ordered it—only four being, as I have already stated, retained in the present Roman missal, to the great loss of ritual.

In the ninth and tenth centuries St Gall was the principal seminary and shelter for Church song, even more than Rome itself, during that stormy epoch in which war and desolation and barbaric invasions almost extinguished art and science in Europe, and incessantly assailed the Roman pontiffs. Whilst, however, the clash of weapons, sedition and rebellion created a perpetual warfare without, sacred song and solemn choral worship found refuge and peace in the great abbeys, especially in St Gall. As early as the year 790, Romanus, who, sent as ambassador by the Pope to the Emperor Charlemagne, fell sick by the way, and remained at St Gall, had here introduced choir song in its most excellent and perfect form. It was carefully kept up for a long period, and here was formed a school of church music which, in a short time, attained a high degree of excellence and renown; and not only so, but educated and sent forth many masters of the art to other and distant regions. At Rome

itself war and civil dissension caused all learning to fade. The fratricidal strife of the Caroline race of kings, and the incursions of the Normans, had almost obliterated the efforts of Charlemagne to advance learning and church music. Germany was a prey to war; but in the quiet and sacred precincts of St Gall flourished many talented men, who were not only professors and teachers of this sacred art, but also were original composers, and theoretically and practically purified, augmented and widely diffused it.

It is these worthy originators of Church song, hidden indeed from the world, whose names we scarcely knew before, but who thus dedicated their lives to God's honour, who have come before us in detailed and speaking sketches in a work by Schübiger, *Die Sängerschulen von St Gallen vom 8 bis zum 12 Jahrhundert*—"the Singing Schools of St Gall from the eighth to the twelfth century"—published just fifty years ago. We become more acquainted with the accomplished Italian, the above-named Romanus, whom Gerbert scarcely mentions, with his companion and friend Peter, who founded a school of the same kind at Metz. After Romanus we hear of Werembert, Marcellus, Iso, Salaman, Notker Balbulus, Titulo, Ratpertus, Waltram, Hartmann, three Ekkehards and two other Notkers, Hermann Contractus, Berno and many others, who are brought forward by that author in their proper persons, and in their works, as the way-marks of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the domain of choir song and sacred plain chant; until at the end of that period—partly from the decay of the Benedictine foundations, partly from the liking for new harmonized music—the old choir music drew near its fall.

The congregation at the beginning of High Mass was

a very scanty one, but as the office proceeded it was augmented by the arrival of the confirmees with their parents and guardians, who, after a good deal of struggling, pushing and trafficking in chairs,* were arranged in order behind the barriers, which, as already stated, lined the nave on either side from the choir screen to the west door. None of the children could have been over ten years of age.

The dresses of the girls were, many of them, strikingly pretty, so that when something like order had been established among as fidgety a congregation of little people as ever I remember, the scene was remarkably picturesque. One drawback was the absence of hymn singing, and indeed of music of any kind, a serious omission which I remarked at Ratisbon, where during the preceding week I had witnessed the administration of the rite. In the South German Cathedral the children were sent up to the high altar to be confirmed; but at the Italian one the bishop, now vested in white cope and mitre, and attended by a priest bearing the chrism with which the forehead of each child was anointed after the laying on of hands, proceeded down the nave and confirmed the children as they stood. The addresses before and after the ceremony were very brief, so that the whole function lasted little more than an hour, whereas at Ratisbon it was a very tedious affair, extending from eight o'clock till long past noon. There were no afternoon offices in the Cathedral, the nave, as is usual throughout Northern Italy, being given up to the *Dottrina Cristiana* or Sunday school, one of those admirable practices

* The naves of Italian cathedrals and churches are not seated permanently like those of France. The chairs are kept in side chapels and elsewhere, and only brought out when wanted, an arrangement occasioning much confusion and unrest.

so beneficial and so edifying that were instituted by St Charles Borromeo in the sixteenth century. It was both novel and affecting to behold on this Sunday afternoon the vast area of the nave of Verona Cathedral filled with children, forming two divisions of boys and girls ranged opposite each other, and these again subdivided into classes, according to their age and capacities, drawn up between the pillars, while two or more instructors attended each class, and directed their questions and explanations to every little individual without distinction. An ecclesiastic attended each class, accompanied by one or more laymen for the boys, and for the girls by as many matrons. Tables were placed in different recesses for writing.

The pious originator of this weekly practice extended it to every part of his immense diocese; and it is observed, I believe, not only in all the parochial churches of the Milanese, but of the neighbouring dioceses, whether suffragan to Milan or not. Threading my way among the numerous groups of little people, I passed out into the spirit-soothing cloistral appendages on the south side of the Cathedral, where I made a leisurely inspection of the little church of St Giovanni in Fonte, and the mosaic pavement discovered twenty-two years ago by the Most Rev. M. Parlo Vignola, archdeacon and manager to the canons of Verona. A very beautiful fragment of an ancient Roman bath with divers colours and designs, usually concealed by sawdust, which was removed for my inspection, it is 400 feet long and 152 feet wide. The cloister was built on the mosaic without damaging it. It begins at the Cathedral library at the west end of the southern ambulatory and ends at the Baptistery or Church of St Giovanni in Fonte, a very charming little basilica in a simple but graceful Romanesque style.



Verona: St. Giovanni in Fonte.
(Baptistery of the Cathedral.)

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The font of yellow Verona marble is an early example of how in the thirteenth century Lombard sculpture seems to have lost much of its old vigour without acquiring any qualities of superior grace or refinement. Each side of the font is covered with a large relief of a Biblical subject, very dull and coarse in execution. The font itself is interesting from its early form, one common in the chief baptisteries of Northern Italy. Like an island in the centre of the great octagonal tank is a lobed marble receptacle, in which the officiating priest stood while he immersed the catechumens. A moveable wooden bridge must have been used to enable the priest to cross the water in the surrounding tank.

There seems to be much disagreement between antiquaries in regard to this most picturesque if not actually beautiful Cathedral at Verona, which owing to the unfinished state of its south-eastern campanile makes but little show in the panorama of the city. It was certainly completed by 806, and the epitaph to an archdeacon, Pacificus (who founded seven churches in the city, and was himself a skilful artist in wood, stone and metal), tells that he ordered repairs thirty years after the death of Charlemagne, namely in 844.* The apse, with its thin closely-set pilasters of Corinthian form, together with the lateral walls of the choir, may be of the original structure, otherwise this grand and characteristic building cannot be referred in any part to date earlier than the twelfth century.

Externally the salient points in Verona Cathedral are: the

*This epitaph to Pacificus, whose name is written in three languages, Pacificus, Solomon, Irenæus, deserves quoting:

Archdiaconus quiescit hic vero Pacificus,
Sapientia præclarus forma præfulgida.
Nullus talis est inventus in nostris temporibus
Ecclesiarum fundator, renovator optimus,

series of apses along the north and south sides; the south porch, whose illustration precludes the necessity of a detailed description; and the graceful two-light window at the west end of either aisle, belonging, it would seem, to some very extensive works undertaken in the fourteenth century, when the whole character of the interior must have been changed by the introduction of those graceful pointed arches rising from complex columns of red marble, boldly sculptured as to their capitals with three rows of leafage.

The interior of Verona Cathedral is like a vase filled with the memories of the past and the gems of genius—a focus in which are concentrated the thoughts and energies of ages; the successive schools of art from naive simplicity to developed excellence; the spirit of the Middle Ages and that of the Italian Renaissance, all fused together with a result in effect that defies criticism.

The first view of an Italian Pointed church, whatever its date, is startlingly unlike anything that we are accustomed to in our own old buildings. It is usually a long, broad, rather low structure, lighted with but few windows, with a small clerestory, if any, and with scarcely any irregularity in shape or plan. We rarely find more than one tower, and this is never combined with the rest of the design in the manner common to us in the north. There is no approach to such combination of steeples as are familiar to us at Canterbury, Lincoln and Wells; at Laon, Rheims and Rouen; at Bamberg, Gelnhausen and Laach.* The steeple, when it does

Zenonis, Proculi, Viti, Petri et Laurentii,
Dei quoque Genitricis.
Quadraginta et tres annos fuit Archdiaconus,
Septimo vicesimo ætatis anno Cæsaris Lotharii,
Mole carnis est solutus anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 846.

*The grand central tower is almost entirely unknown in Italy.

occur, is often detached; and when it is engaged, it is placed in some irregular and abnormal position, where we feel at once that it is purposely not intended to be looked at in conjunction with the main façade of the building.

This habitual separation of the tower from the church is the principal cause of the inferiority of Italian churches, whether in the round-arched or Pointed styles, to those of the North, such a separation depriving the ensemble of that feature through the help of which the west fronts of English and French cathedrals are so much ennobled and embellished.

In Italy the only relief to the monotonous outline of the main building is at the crossing, where, particularly in the earlier Lombard churches, an octagonal lantern is introduced, but this is as a rule of but slight elevation and not intended to produce any of the effects aimed at in such central steeples as those of Gloucester, Salisbury and Worcester, Coutances and Rouen.

The Northern medieval architect developed his style away from the reach of the remains of classic architecture, and with no precedents to divert his attention from the one style which he was engaged in almost unconsciously perfecting, practically without the knowledge of any other. The Italian was otherwise situated. He worked in a country with a great past, the architectural monuments of which were everywhere around him. And these architectural monuments belonged to a school of constructive design totally opposed to that which was dominant in Europe during the Middle Ages.

They were the monuments and representatives of the great lintel system, which had died out with the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. The new structural form was

that of the arch in its entirety, which had only been half accepted by the Romans in a one-sided and architecturally apologetic manner, but was now to be carried to its utmost development by the Goth, whose influence was to become prominent throughout Europe.

But in the midst of this permeation of the arcuated style, there lingered in Italy a constant tendency to a revival of, or return to, the antique forms, the remains of which were so plentiful; and the result was not only the existence here and there of groups of artists influenced by some one building of antiquity which they admired and were desirous of reproducing in its best features in their new work, but a general obstacle everywhere to this frank acceptance of the arcuated style as a system of balanced and buttressed construction.

The old classic principle of repose still asserted itself in the medieval art of Italy. The buttress was never made a feature in the design, except with old classic pilaster-like forms; the arch was largely used; its pointed form was more or less adopted, though with hesitation, but its external constructive expression was shirked, and the obvious aim was to combine the Gothic arcuated construction with the classic immobility of design and expression; or, if this were not the conscious aim, it was the unconscious result of conflicting tastes and associations. It is to the lingering of certain reminiscences of classic art that is mainly due the want of unity of design, and the entirely unsatisfactory character of the Italian buildings erected between the middle of the thirteenth and the end of the fourteenth centuries as compared with the best of Northern Gothic.

"You may go to a grand English cathedral," says one of the most distinguished architects of the Gothic Revival, "and find that from every point of view, inside and outside,



Verona: Western doorway of St. Fermo Maggiore.

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every feature is well proportioned to its place, and beautiful in itself, while the *tout ensemble* is also perfect both in detail and in mass; and one always finds it necessary to make excuses for even the best foreign works, such as one never finds necessary or allows oneself to think of making for English ones."

There is something really absurd in comparing even the best of the Italian churches with such cathedrals as those of Canterbury and Lincoln, so superior are the latter from almost every point of view.

Most of the characteristics I have just pointed out are to be found in the Church of Sta Anastasia at Verona, of which a very good birds'-eye view is given in the plate representing the panorama of the city on page 60.

In examining the features of any national school of architecture, it is interesting to observe how distinctly some of its peculiarities and prejudices are marked from the very first, even in the ground plans of the buildings it produced. This is notably the case in the ecclesiastical edifices not only of France, England and Germany, but of Spain. Each had its special arrangement of plan seldom departed from, and handed on from age to age as a precious heirloom. In Italy the same feature strikes us there in almost all the buildings of the Pointed style.

Their plans are all derived from two ancient types, both of which are of great antiquity. It was from the basilica, converted into a church, with its nave and aisles terminated at the end by an apsidal projection from a sort of transept, that almost all the Italian Gothic churches with transepts were copied.

Looking at the ground plan of St Paul extra Muros at Rome, and comparing it with the fully developed church

of Sta Croce at Florence, we see that the only absolute difference consists in the addition of small chapels in the eastern side of the transepts, so that in place of the one apse which marks the former we have the central apse and five chapels on each side of it; whilst in the churches, founded on the same type, of the Frari at Venice and St Domenico at Siena there are three; and in Sta Maria Novella at Florence, SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, and Sta Anastasia at Verona, two eastern apsidal chapels on each side of the apse, all opening directly into the transepts.

The Church of St Clemente at Rome, dating from the fifth century, with its three aisles terminating in parallel apses at the east end, is the other type followed in such churches as the Cathedral of Torcello near Venice and, in fact, all Italian Pointed churches without transepts. And even when, as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Italian architects endeavoured to secure an immensely wide unbroken area of nave, as, for example, in the St Fermo at Verona and the Church of the Eremitani at Padua, they still looked back to their old precedents, and finished them at the east with those parallel apses.

Thus, in this respect, Italian Gothic was simply a natural development from an earlier style and, adhering very closely to the older plan and arrangements, affords us scarcely an example of those prolonged choirs of which our English cathedrals and abbeys are perhaps the most magnificent examples.

But it was not only in respect of the plan that Italian Gothic thus founded itself upon what had before existed. The traces of classic influence are so many and so clear, that it is not too much to say that Gothic art was never

fully developed in Italy, so fettered was it by the ever-present influence of buildings in another style.

Hence the more we study the peculiarities, the more we see how strange a mixture there is in it of the character of Classic and Gothic art.

Begun by the Dominicans very shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century, Sta Anastasia at Verona is a church of a type specially adopted by that Order in Italy, as, for instance, in St Lorenzo at Vicenza and SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice, wherein grandeur of proportion, ample space for large congregations and the tall cylindrical column —little used in England after the Transitional period, but on the continent through all the epochs of the Pointed— are the main characteristics.

Graceful, yet at the same time majestic, Sta Anastasia is cruciform in plan. The campanile stands between the choir and the transept, whose roof is carried without any break in the shape of a lantern from north to south. The effect is peculiar, but the arrangement is only observable from the east, owing to the much greater lowness of the choir and apse. Sta Anastasia, groined in brick throughout, and quadripartitely, has a nave of six bays with tall cylindrical columns of red and white marble, delicately foliaged as to their capitals, and resting upon very good bases.

The clerestory windows, as at Sta Maria Novella at Florence and Sta Maria sopra Minerva at Rome, are circular, but enriched with sexfoil cusping. The arches are simple, and evidently prepared for the painted decorations, which are exquisite; and the general effect of the interior, enriched as it has been from time to time with costly furniture, is truly solemn and imposing. A great drawback to the ensemble of this lovely church is the presence of iron

ties spanning the bays at the springing of the arch. In medieval times vaulted roofs were the favourite mode of covering spaces, and the spans of the arches had to be regulated by the nature of the materials available. Arches could only be practically built within certain limits of size, and the thrust of such arches had to be carefully provided for by the erection of buttresses, turrets and similar features. In this respect the Northern architects evinced pre-eminent skill. The beautiful curves of their groinings are not interfered with by ties or other visible support, and the necessary buttresses which exist outside contribute in no small degree to the external beauty of the buildings. Even where these buttresses are exaggerated, they are not without an effective character, as may be seen at Chartres, Le Mans and Notre Dame, Paris, where the buttresses around the choir have a somewhat undue influence upon the other architectural features of the building.

In the south the Gothic architects of Italy showed less constructive ingenuity. Ignoring buttresses, they sought other means of combating the thrust of their arches. They found it in a system of iron ties, which connected the columns with each other and with the walls, and prevented the arches from spreading. This expedient, faulty though it be, has attracted admirers and even some imitators, but it can hardly be approved by the thoughtful critic. It brings too evidently under notice the defect which attaches more or less to all arched buildings—their quality of unrest, giving an idea of imperfection, destructive of confidence in the solidity and stability of the structure.

The windows, as everything in this fine church, are vigorous and bold, and executed altogether on proper principles; though, unfortunately, they are disfigured by coloured



Verona: Interior of Sta. Anastasia, looking East.

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glass of the most terrible patterns and tints. They have enclosing arches built in alternate layers of brick and stone, and their traceries are entirely of stone, consisting of simple geometrical piercings of the simplest and purest outline. Here the tracery is treated simply as a piercing in a slab of stone and not as a piece of constructed masonry, such as is commonly seen in medieval English buildings, and one to which, therefore, all our prejudices naturally attach us most strongly. Up to a certain point the Italian method had both true principles and good reason in its favour.

Given an arch of sufficient strength to carry the whole superincumbent weight of wall, it may fairly be argued that the filling in under it would be, where possible, a single thin block of stone, pierced with such openings only as were necessary to admit light; and the result would be generally that we should have nothing but plate tracery (which it would be waste of time to prove to be better than any other form) in place of the too ingenious line tracery, to which the Northern system of construction was likely to, and did always, lead. But it is obvious that the Italian system could never be carried out properly in any but small windows, and those who have studied North Italian Pointed know that it ended in a less satisfactory manner than did our own system of geometrically constructed bar tracery.

We see comparatively little ancient stained glass in Italy —in Verona none at all—though now and then, as in the Cathedral at Florence, at Arezzo and St Petronio, Bologna, it does occur, and in all these examples of the most gorgeous colour.

Unless an Italian Pointed church owes something to the hand of the painter, I venture to say that it must be called

tame, bald and unsatisfactory, as witness those two huge buildings of different epochs, St Antonio at Padua and St Petronio at Bologna; but we should have affronted Niccola Pisano and Antonio Vincenzi by telling them so to their faces.

The truth is the Italian architect of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, like a certain great English architect of the nineteenth, regarded architecture as a vehicle for the representation of the sacred story in sculpture or fresco.

The great religious Orders too were wise patrons of art, as St Francesco at Assisi, Sta Maria Novella, and Sta Croce at Florence amply testify; and not a little of the noblest art of the medieval period is attributable to the foundation so nearly together of the two great religious Orders, the Franciscans in 1210 and the Dominicans in 1215, who, rivals in most things, were rivals also in their patronage of art and artists, and creating rivalry among the latter, pointed the way continually to fresh victories. The result is that some of the North Italian church interiors possess more interest for the true artist who rejoices in the combination of all the arts than any in the world; and St Francesco at Assisi, a fine groined church of genuine Northern Pointed design and effect, shows the result of such a combination by producing the most perfect church interior in Italy; whilst the interior of Sta Anastasia at Verona, an example pitched altogether in a much lower key, is a good example of the effect which is obtainable by the use of simply decorative painting. Not only is this scheme of coloured decoration at Sta Anastasia remarkable for its beauty and completeness, but as being coeval with the building.

The vaults are very gracefully painted with floriated bands along the ribs, and central patterns in each cell, the



Verona: Western Doorway of Sta. Anastasia.

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colours being rich and soft on a white plastered ground. The eastern portion of the vault, including the choir and one bay of the nave, has the older and simpler decorations. The rest of the nave has more elaborate painted ornament—foliage mixed with figures of Dominican saints, executed in the fifteenth century. On the walls below are many fine frescoes, ranging from 1300 to the fifteenth century, with noble effigies and reliefs of saints and sacred subjects.

High up, over the central opening into one of the chapels opening from the south transept, is one of the most beautiful frescoes of Pisanello or Vittore Pisano, a very charming painter and the greatest medallist of Italy. The scene represents St George and the Princess after the Conquest of the Dragon, with accessory figures, the sea, a mountainous landscape and an elaborately painted city in the background. In the Capella di Gesu, a little chapel off the south aisle, admirers of Early Renaissance ornament will view with pleasure a panelled pilaster, which, set at an angle of about 45 degrees, and carried round the arch above the capital, forms in this and many other cases in the same school of work the substitute for the recessed ordering of a Gothic archway.

The west front of Sta Anastasia is one of that class in which it has been intended to cover the whole with marble. In these cases the walls are first of all built very roughly in brick, with courses projecting at intervals for the sake of affording bond to the marble. In the majority of cases the marble fronts have never been built above the base mouldings, so that such rough, unfinished fronts as those of Sta Anastasia, St Petronio at Bologna and Sta Croce at Florence are quite characteristic of the country.

From the general truthfulness of St Anastasia, and the

exquisite beauty of the arrangement of the red, white and grey marble in its western doorway—than which there is hardly anything of its kind more beautiful or more thoroughly Gothic in the whole realm of Italian Pointed art—it may fairly be thought that we have lost as much by its non-completion as by that of any other unfinished building in the country.

Adjacent to the west front is the beautiful little chapel of St Peter of Verona with plate tracery in the circular windows similar in character to the window in the south transept of Sta Anastasia. It is, however, only one of a type frequently met with in Italy, and hardly merits the praise which Ruskin has so lavishly bestowed upon it.

Verona is particularly rich in early examples of decorative sculpture, exemplified in the very interesting series of reliefs which cover the western façade of St Zeno*—a perfect masterpiece of the decorative art of the period, the middle of the twelfth century. These reliefs represent both sacred subjects and scenes of war and hunting, mingled with grotesque monsters such as specially delighted the rude, vigorous nature of the Lombards. They are all richly decorative in effect, though strange and unskilful in detail.†

As a Lombardic Romanesque façade of its period, this of St Zeno may be accepted as typical. The architectural disposition of the interior is well marked on the exterior by slender and most gracefully shaped pilasters or rather half-columns which rise in the centre in four subdivisions, whilst on the sides they are uninterrupted. The vertical lines

* St Zeno was Bishop of Verona in the time of the Emperors Julian and Valentinian I (A.D. 362–380).

† Many of these twelfth-century reliefs are signed by the sculptor, but these merely constitute lists of names about whom nothing is known.



Verona: St. Zeno, from the South West.

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are agreeably broken by a frieze of arcades which emphasizes the conflicting dynamic and static elements of the construction. Not less worthy of study is the finish and originality of the porch. Projecting half-columns form a tabernacle over the entrance. A semicircle which rises above the door is richly decorated, as also is the field formed by the architrave. Part of the western bronze doors are especially interesting as being among the earliest important examples in Italy of cast bronze reliefs. They represent scenes from the life of the patron saint, are rudely modelled, and yet very dramatic and sculpturesque in style. Part of these doors are covered with bronze reliefs of scenes from the Bible, which are of still earlier date and were probably brought to Verona from the Rhenish provinces. They are frequently stated to be of beaten bronze, but they are really castings, apparently by the *cire perdu* process.

A rose window of great beauty, formed of concentrically arranged arcades supported by columns, heightens the beauty of the façade. One of the earliest examples of what is styled a Wheel of Fortune window, it was executed by a sculptor named Briolotus, who also built the Baptistery. An inscription in this latter records the fact, and speaks of the window as a work which excited wonder in those times.

The Campanile stands detached but close to this fine Lombard church, the west front of which is a reddish marble and the sides of mixed marble and brick in alternate bands. Four or five courses of fine red brick lie between bands of hard cream-coloured limestone or marble forming broad stripes of red and white all over the wall.

The campanile, surmounted by a cone-shaped spire and

pinnacles, is wholly of brick and harmonizes beautifully with the church, which stands clear of the other buildings on the outskirts of the city of the Montagues and Capulets; and, as the traveller approaches from Trent, this great mass of St Zeno standing out against a clear blue Italian sky on such an afternoon as that on which I first saw it, forms a never-to-be-forgotten picture.

The interior of St Zeno is beyond question the grandest specimen of the Lombardo-Romanesque basilica in existence. Large and lofty, it has all the solemnity without the gloominess of St Ambrose's at Milan or St Michele at Pavia, being as may be supposed from its date (1138-78) in a much lighter and more elegant phase of the style.

From the west door to the level of the nave there is a descent of ten steps, contained in a kind of additional bay westward of the first of a series of great piers dividing the arches opening into the aisles into groups of twos and threes. These arches rest on gracefully proportioned cylindrical columns, whose capitals present much variety of foliaged and other ornamentation, the Corinthian prevailing in the eastern part of the nave. Two of the great attached piers above mentioned carry a segmental arch which spans the church transversely and abuts the vast mass of walling above the arcades. The piers of these spanning arches appear to have formed part of a system of vaulting which was never carried out, the architect contenting himself with a flat ceiling of wood supported at intervals by arches. When the present graceful Gothic choir took the place of the Romanesque one in the fifteenth century, it was found necessary to remove this flat roof and to replace it with another of larch wood, similar in construction to those in St Fermo and in the great Eremitani Church at Padua, but less complex in section. At St Zeno



Verona: Interior of St. Zeno, looking East.

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the roof takes a trefoil shape, with collars joining the two cusps and coloured with gold flowers in white panels. Thus, the two great transverse stone arches now support nothing, being quite independent of the roof above them, and as may be imagined a very singular effect is produced. This, however, is not the only instance in Italy of such an arrangement. It occurs *inter alia* at Florence in St Miniato, where, however, the space between the arches and the simple wooden roof of low-pitched gable form is filled up with masonry. At St Zeno the remaining great attached piers support nothing, so that the portion of nave eastward of the second great transverse arch bears a considerable resemblance to that of Ely Cathedral, where, it will be recollected, the original flat Norman ceiling was raised to its present cradle form after the great alterations carried out under Alan de Walsingham after the old Tower fell early in the fourteenth century.

The clerestory walls at St Zeno are of great height, pierced rarely at their highest part with very small round-headed windows. We miss, however, the spacious triforia of Milan and Pavia, there being nothing to occupy the great surface of wall under the clerestory windows.

The aisles have open lean-to roofs, painted, and at the west end of the southern one stands the font, a huge octagonal mass of polished marble, having its sides enriched with arcading. There are no sculptured groups, but the very beautiful shaft introduced at each angle imparts lightness and grace to a composition which might otherwise appear heavy. High up in the walls of the aisles are a few small round-headed windows, deeply splayed, and glazed in contiguous circles.

The area of the choir is beautifully spacious and, raised as it is, makes one of the noblest crypts in existence. The

services performed in it can be well seen and heard. Thirteen steps lead up to the choir from the aisles, while twenty conduct down into the crypt, which is visible from the nave through three arcades on elegant coupled shafts.

In the choir which terminates in a five-sided apse lighted by lancets, unfortunately glazed in ugly sheets, the stalls of excellent Complete Gothic character ranged continuously round it should be carefully studied, likewise an exquisite window in the north wall with a round arch comprising three lancets on slender shafts, and the tympanum pierced plate-tracery wise with two inverted quatrefoils.

The vaulting is truly beautiful, and the carefully restored frescoes, which enrich not only this part of the church but the walls of the choir aisles on either hand, will enchain the attention of the student for hours.

Apparently these frescoes at St Zeno were painted haphazard by one pious man after another without much thought beyond that of making the particular work in which he was interested tell its own story well and produce its own effect. So little did he think of other men's previous work that the same subjects are not infrequently repeated, with the result that the walls are here sober and there gorgeous, but everywhere coloured and everywhere more or less interesting.

A genuine and still intact specimen of ninth-century work is the crypt of St Zeno, founded to contain the tomb of that saintly Bishop of Verona by Pepin, King of Italy, with low semicircular vault, supported by forty columns, irregular in their shafts and showing a vast fertility of ideas in the sculpture of their capitals. This sole remnant of the original church embodies an idea yet new in Italian architecture; and a mysterious gloom, a brooding presence of antiquity, imparts an



Verona: The Crypt of St. Zeno, looking West.

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effect of awe and solemnity to those dim aisles and that forest of pillars under its low arched roof. As to the architects of this period little is known, except that the Comasque builders still retained the pre-eminence and privileges they had enjoyed under the Longobard kings, confirmed to them by Charlemagne, with exemption from all local statutes and burdens, the like favour being extended to them by the Popes. They were allowed to fix their own wages, while practitioners not of their society were forbidden to enter into rivalship against them.

Important as is the brickwork of Northern Germany, upon which I have dwelt at some length in my volume on the architecture of that country,* it cannot be compared in general artistic interest with that of the North of Italy. Much as there is to find fault with in the construction and general system of design of the Italian buildings of the Middle Ages, it would be idle to deny to them those highest merits which mark the work of civilized, delicate and refined artists. German architecture, after the end of the thirteenth century, was uninteresting and unrefined beyond that of any other country, and the ascending scale would take us from it through England and Spain and the North of France, on to the greatest perfection which was reached in some of their works by the best Italian artists. In saying this I by no means give the palm to the Italian artist; far from it. But his work has certain tender graces, especially in its detail, which has never been surpassed; though at the same time no English architect is wise who proceeds, as so many have done, to study it without first of all having studied, to such an extent as to be thoroughly

* *The Cathedrals and Churches of the Rhine and North Germany*, pp. 64 et seq.

penetrated with the spirit of, the inimitable old churches of his own country.

There is some charming brickwork in the fourteenth-century Gothic church of St Fermo Maggiore,* close to the Ponto Navi, but it displays one of those features of sham construction to which I have drawn attention both in Italy and in Germany, i.e., the screen wall carried up high above the roofs, but of no possible use. It occurs in St Fermo, in the east end, where we have a central and two smaller side apses opening out of one of those vast aisleless churches of which the city presents several other examples. Here we have each of the five sides of the central apse surmounted by sham gables, the grouping of which, with the pinnacles between them, and the tall, graceful campanile adjacent, undoubtedly forms a most picturesque *tout ensemble*. Perhaps the finest example of the treatment of the east end of an Italian Gothic church is to be found in that of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari at Venice, where we have a central apse lighted by two tiers of windows, and a series of chapels on the eastern side of either transept, each with two windows on the same level as the lower tier of the central apse. The division between the two stages of the latter is strongly marked by a bold cornice, occupying the place which in England would be

* It is traditional that the crypt of St Fermo pertains to the date when the church was certainly founded, i.e. in 755, under the reign of the Longobard Desiderius; and the massive piers, with plain heavy vaulting in that subterranean church, have all the appearance of untouched antiquity. The date 1065 has been, however, conjectured for this Veronese example, and more plausibly than that earlier one. The crypt of St Mark's, Venice, is the earliest example—at least, in its developed form and importance—presented by Italian church architecture, preceding those that follow next in order of date, at St Miniato, Florence, of 1013, and at the abbey of Monte Cassino, 1066.

held by a simple moulded string-course; and this is one of the ever-recurring evidences of the fact that the Gothic architects of Italy never so thoroughly and entirely shook off the old classic traditions as did those of our own country.

The west front of St Fermo is as good an example of a completed coloured façade as any in North Italy. Its date may be fixed between 1270 and 1313, but its effect is, as is often the case in Italian work, that of a considerably earlier period.

Here we find a round-arched doorway without any capitals to its shafts, with two stages of arcading on either side, and four lancets, trefoiled, above. A small four-light window occupies the gable, which is finished with the usual cornice.

The whole front is built in alternated courses of red brick and stone; pilasters finished with pinnacles stop the strings and cornice at the angles, and a third pinnacle rises from the apex of the gable.

The imposingly situated north porch of St Fermo is one of that favourite and beautiful type in which each face is arched, and the whole covered with a flat-pitched roof. The arches spring from the carved capitals of single shafts which are held together with iron ties to resist the thrust of the arches. The doorway leading into the church is perhaps one of the most beautiful in Verona, with the rich, rope-like mouldings of its arch in stones of varied hue, supported on either side by three receding shafts with foliaged capitals. Above the shaft dividing the entrance is an effigy of St Fermo, represented carrying a book and a palm branch, while in the tympanum of the doorway and on the eastern wall of the porch there are some fresco paintings in various states which will repay

examination by the student of the art, as will those in the interior of the church above this doorway and at the back of the beautiful stone and marble pulpit representing the four Latin Doctors, the Evangelists, the Ascent of Elisha, twelve prophets with scrolls, and the Crucifixion. A fresco of the Annunciation is the only other existing one of Pisanello besides that in Sta Anastasia.

Originally St Fermo had an aisleless nave and transepts, being in fact one of those great churches that was built for the use and convenience of an order of preachers, and not for receiving a number of altars. These were added and chapels built for their reception in Renaissance times.

There is no distinct choir, a semicircular screen of marble* very similar to that in the Cathedral containing the *chorus*. The organ stands in the central apse behind the high altar, but was completely hidden from view at the time of my visit by those crimson and other coloured draperies with which too many an Italian church is bedizened at festival times.

The whole vast area of the nave, some fifty feet across, is covered by a huge complicated wooden roof of multifoil shape, one of the finest examples of a class found, as a rule, only in Venetia, or in churches built by Venetian architects in Istria and the subject provinces. Such a roof, which hardly admits of intelligible description, may be considered the type of a late basilican one, basilican naves having been, we know, first spanned by enormous wooden constructions of great plainness. At St Fermo the framing is concealed by a coving or barrel-vaulting in wood, the surface of which is divided into small square panels all painted and gilt, im-

* It has this inscription : "Expensis Corrocatiis et piorum eleemosynis MDLXXIII."



Verona: Interior of St. Fermo Maggiore.

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parting a rich effect. These fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painted decorations are well preserved, delicate patterns covering all the framework of the panelling and of all the panels themselves. At two stages where there is a check in the line of the cornice rows of half figures of saints are minutely painted on blue or gold grounds, forming a scheme of decoration indescribably beautiful.

I attended an evening service in this church on Whit-Sunday.

When it began, the vast pillarless expanse was in gloom, but during a very lengthy and impassioned sermon from a Franciscan, every lamp and candle in the church was lighted up, bringing out the shape and colouring of this roof most vividly, the whole effect being very striking. The music, however, was trivial, the organ-playing very indifferent, and the incessant fluttering of the ladies' fans not a little irritating to a Northern temperament.

Totally unable to comprehend the worthy friar's discourse, I allowed my thoughts to vagabondize about the architecture, watching the lighting of the aforesaid lamps and candles—conduct which, had my lot been cast in the days of St John Chrysostom, would assuredly have drawn down upon me the reproof of "the Golden-Mouthed."*

* On one occasion, while Chrysostom continued preaching, probably seated in his high chair, cathedra, or throne in the choir of the church, the sunlight grew dim, and an attendant began to kindle the lamps. On this the attention of the congregation was distracted. The preacher perceived this, and recalled their wandering thoughts in the following pungent words: "Let me beg you to arouse yourselves, and to put away that sluggishness of mind. But why do I say this? At the very time when I am setting forth before you the Scriptures, you are turning your eyes away from me and fixing them upon the lamps and upon the man who is lighting the lamps. Oh, of what a sluggish soul is this the mark, to leave the preacher, and turn to him! I, too, am kindling the fire of the Scriptures; and upon my tongue there is burning a taper, the taper of sound doctrine.

It would be tedious to describe the remaining churches of Verona in detail; a few outline notes of a few of the more interesting and important must therefore suffice.

St Stefano, distinguished by its rather tall octagonal lantern of red brick, is situated on Theodoric's side of the Adige. The main body of this church has been ruthlessly modernized, but it keeps the feature already mentioned, its solemn pillared crypt, the arcades surrounding its upper and lower apses, and the stone chair of the bishop still in its ancient place, a memorial of the times when St Stefano's disputed with the vaster Sta Maria Matricolare on the other side of the river its right to be principal among the churches of Verona, as the seat of her bishops in life and their resting-place in death.

A few steps westwards and we arrive at the imposing Renaissance church of St Giorgio, one of the most respectable of its class in Verona, and due to the native architect Sanmichele.

In common with almost every other Italian church of its period St Giorgio shows how the designer made the interest of his interior culminate in the central dome, without destroying the effect by something less imposing in the shape of a deep choir beyond.

St Lorenzo is a small Romanesque church purged by careful restoration of modernisms. It is extremely narrow, and has a chancel, transepts, nave and two aisles. The choir and aisles terminate in apses, and there is an apse on the eastern side of either transept, so that the plan may be termed parallel cinq-apsidal. There are triforia as in the

Greater is this light, and better, than the light that is yonder. For, unlike that man, it is no wick steeped in oil that I am lighting up. I am rather inflaming souls, moistened with piety, by the desire of heavenly discourse."

Rhenish Romanesque churches, large enough for use as galleries. These are vaulted, whereas the nave has only a barrel-roof with tie-beams besides some arches across.

The arches of the triforia correspond to the nave arcades below them, and are joined at the west end by a gallery. The red marble piers have capitals like classical ones, but some have no bases. There is a large, groined south porch with two marble columns on lofty bases and with tall capitals of the Corinthian acanthus kind. A large circular tower rises at the west end of either aisle, built of brick and stone in alternate layers and capped with a low spire of tiles. In addition there is a south-eastern tower all of brick and a cone-like spire.

The interior of St Bernardino is another of those huge pillarless expanses like St Euphemia, St Thomas of Canterbury and St Fermo—*Gothic*, but horribly modernized. The two great cloisters here, one forming a kind of atrium to the west front and the other lying along the north side of the church, attest its former monastic opulence.

The little oratory of St Zeno has a pretty interior, the round arch dividing the chancel from the nave rising only to the height of those which separate the latter from its aisles.

Another very unpretending little church is Sta Maria Antica, consisting only of a nave and apse. The former has six narrow bays on cylindrical shafts, with either plain or much-defaced carved capitals. There is neither triforium nor clerestory, and the groining is quadripartite, the transverse arch between each vaulting bay springing from a corbel in lieu of a continuous shaft. At the western part of the nave the stone vault has disappeared, a rough wooden ceiling taking its place.

The aisles have very small windows inserted high up in the walls, but there are none whatever in the apse. A pretty effect is produced by the responds or half-piers carrying the easternmost bay on either side of the nave, being constructed in alternate layers of red and white stone.

The magnificently-sculptured tombs of the Della Scala lords, outside this little church of Sta Maria Antica, exemplify Florentine influence in Verona. Designed with steadily growing splendour, from the simple sarcophagus of Martino I. down to the elaborate canopy over the tomb of the fratricide Can Signorio, designed with statuettes of the Virtues, to the possession of which he could lay so little claim, the recumbent effigies and decorative details of these tombs are very beautiful, but the smaller figures of angels, saints and virtues are rather clumsy in proportion. The latest tomb, that of Can Signorio, erected during his lifetime (c. 1370) is signed "Boninus de Campiglione Mediolanensis Dioscesis." This sculptor, though of Milanese origin, belongs really to the school of the Florentine, Andrea Pisano. One characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Verona was the custom, also followed in other Lombardic cities, of setting large equestrian statues on the tombs of powerful military leaders, in some cases over the recumbent effigy of the dead man, as if to represent him in full vigour of life as well as in death. That which crowns the canopy over the tomb of Can Grande is a very noble though somewhat quaint work.

Apart from its churches, I visited few Italian cities with more pleasure, and quitted few with more regret than Verona; whether as the first Italian city on my road it happened, by its appearance and monuments, very novel to a transalpine traveller, particularly to engage my attention,

or whether it really possesses many means of exciting interest, I know not; but, as I bade it farewell in the full blaze of noon on Tuesday in Whitsun week, I could not forbear addressing it in the words of Cotta, one of its poets:

Verona, qui te viderit,
Et non amarit protinus,
Amore perditissimo,
Is, credo, se ipsum non amat,
Caretque amandi sensibus,
Et odit omnes gratias.

CHAPTER IV

Vicenza

AS Genoa owes her splendour to her architect, Galeasso Alessi, the friend of Michael Angelo and Sangallo, so Vicenza owes hers to Palladio, whose reputation as a great Renaissance designer will probably survive after a fashion, but more on the wings of fame and because what has once been said about him than on the merits of what he called buildings, but which were rather full-size models of buildings. More thought and more intellect may have gone to producing some of these than went to any of the now more admired structures of Venice and Verona; they form a striking warning of the consequences of neglecting the first desideratum of architecture, truth and durability of construction. There is a something singular in the geographical juxtaposition of Verona, Vicenza and Venice, lying at the three corners of a not very large triangle of country, representatives respectively of real architectural building, of "school" designing, and of picturesque architecture of no rule or regulation at all.

The fact that the latter has the most lively hold upon the interests of most people at present, must not be made too decidedly an argument in favour of the more lasting influence of the "romantic" school; allowance has to be made for the historical associations of Venice as well as for the fact that the romance side of artistic interest was so long predominant in every branch of art and literature. "School" art, on the other hand, always has in it the seeds of decay;

yet the day has come round when the unquestionable talent, not to say genius, applied to it by Palladio, has made Vicenza again a centre of interest to the architectural traveller. But the celebrated Renaissance architect destroyed his chance by forgetting the constructive basis of architecture, contenting himself with getting up scenic buildings as fast as he could without considering their future. He did so much, however, in the art of abstract design that it would not be quite fair or allowable, even for the most ardent zealot for Gothic, to pass his memory over with a sneer; though every candid critic must admit how inferior in interest and association are his artificial compositions to the sometimes less artistic but genuine and durable erections which the Italian medieval architects, supplying the wants of their day with the materials nearest to hand, have left as illustration of brick and marble in the Middle Ages.

It is, however, with the ecclesiastical and not with the civil and domestic architecture of Vicenza, that this work is immediately concerned. So I will at once pass on to the Cathedral, one of those buildings in which we can discern how tame and uninteresting beyond that of any other nation Italian Pointed architecture could become after the middle of the thirteenth century.

Begun in 1260, the Cathedral of Vicenza is an immensely broad edifice, mainly built of brick, and comprising a nave, 60 feet wide, without aisles, but with a series of chapels opening out of it, and a choir of corresponding width finely raised upon a crypt and terminating apsidally.

As I have already pointed out, the clerestory in an Italian Gothic church is, as a rule, a very insignificant feature; in fact, the windows which may be regarded as the eyes of a building, the feature by which it is immediately recognized

like the belfry windows of an English tower, contribute but little to the general appearance of the structure.

At Vicenza, however, the clerestory of the Cathedral is unusually lofty; the windows, which are pointed ones of two lights without any cuspings or tracery, resemble some of our later First Pointed ones.* Three of these clerestory windows light each of the four great compartments into which the nave is divided, and to accommodate themselves to the pointed arch of the vaulting which spans them internally, the central one is placed somewhat higher up in the wall than that on either side of it.

The brickwork forming the parapet above the windows is worthy of notice. It consists of one row of billeted or dog-tooth ornament, a second in which the design takes the form of a rope-like moulding, and a third composed of a number of little diamonds between uprights.

The windows which light the chapels fringing the nave are of two acutely pointed lights resting upon a corbel in lieu of the prolonged shaft. The effect is singular, but hardly pleasant, being somewhat à la Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey.

The west front, of a type common to churches in this part of Italy, has fine tall, wide arcades beneath a gable the whole width of the church. I speak of the gable, but in this instance it has a flat apex and curved sides. The five pointed arches in this west front of Vicenza Cathedral start from square piers with pillarets niched in their angles, such as we see in the Romanesque of Brunswick and Saxony, and beautifully foliaged capitals. Within the central arch is a square-headed doorway beneath a pointed arch, which has two orders of mould-

*As, for example, those in the chapel and "solar" of Charney Manor House, Oxfordshire.



Vicenza: The Cathedral from the South West.

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ing, the outer one being composed of twisted shafts while the inner one assumes a scroll-like character. The tympanum is unrelieved by carving or fresco. The wall within the arches on either hand is built of red stone in squares, that immediately adjacent to the doorway being pierced with a long two-light window whose central shaft is banded at mid-distance. The lights are sharply pointed, and a small quatrefoiled circle forms the tracery. Above the arcades is a wall space in whose four compartments the stone-work is relieved by little red diamond-shaped panels, which produce a very pleasing effect of natural colour; and in the centre is a finely dimensioned round window, with spokes of a very weedy order radiating from its centre.

From the south-west corner of the somewhat dreary square in which the Cathedral is situated, an interesting assemblage of objects presents itself, embracing the vast but not picturesque Duomo itself; a low campanile imbedded in some houses opposite with shrubs growing out of the brickwork; and the graceful tower in the Piazza Ragione, in which the red brick of its three upper octagonal stages contrasts strikingly with the green of its copper dome. I may remark in passing that this campanile which rises from the midst of some of the masterpieces of Palladio, is even more slender than others, being 20 feet at the base and 300 feet high; and it must be remembered that what gives these bell towers their singular aspect to the English eye, as compared with our church steeples, is that the tower is carried up the whole height of the same size as the base, or at least with so small a diminution as to make it difficult to decide whether it actually contracts, or only appears to do so from the effect of perspective. In medieval days the bell tower or campanile was the symbol of power. The liberty to erect such a tower

was everywhere highly prized as a sign of independence, and we know that this was the case in the North as well as in the South, in the "Free Towns" founded in France by our own King Edward I, as well as in the prosperous commercial cities of the Low Countries, and the more stately capitals of the Italian States.

Apart from their special significance, the Italian Gothic campanili must be considered interesting rather than admirable in an architectural sense, and cannot, I venture to think, be allowed for one moment to cast into the shade the merits of our own medieval towers and spires. In the plains of Italy they had a special justification, serving both as watch-towers and guides, as well as indicating the power and authority of the cities in which they were placed.

The apse of the Cathedral has been prolonged into a tall lantern and dome, a questionable addition. Here the material is light and dark red stone in alternate layers. Pilasters with capitals reminiscent of those in the side and main apses of Verona Cathedral run up the wall, marking it off into thirteen compartments which are lighted by as many tall narrow round-headed windows of one opening, whose height would appear exaggerated but for the piece of stone carving introduced transom-wise at mid-height. The low obtuse-headed windows of the modernized crypt are seen below the pilasters, so that altogether this apse of Vicenza Cathedral is unusually elevated.

Inside, the church, whose arrangement of arcades and vaulting recalls that of Münster and Osnabrück Cathedrals, can hardly be pronounced so poetical from its extravagant breadth, thus neutralizing its height, which is by no means inconsiderable. It is also very deficient in colour. There are four great pointed bays each subdivided into two lesser

ones, which open into the lateral chapels and support the above-mentioned clerestory. The great arches spanning the nave transversely spring from attached piers formed of a semicircular half-column with a slender square shaft on either side of it, all with *à crochet* capitals and rope-like mouldings to the vaulting ribs.

At the time of my visit the walls and pillars were hung with well-worn crimson drapery bearing large gold crosses and sentences from the hymns *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* and *Pange lingua gloriosi.*

A corbelled gallery at the east end of the nave on either side supports an organ in a case of pseudo-Gothic design painted white and relieved with gold.

To the choir there is a stately ascent by twenty red marble steps, and on either side another flight communicating with the crypt, which has no central avenues of pillars and is, in consequence of its modernization, poor and uninteresting. All its two-light windows are glazed inside irrespective of their mullions, an unpleasant Italian trick.

The rich marble balustrade which flanks the steps leading to the choir is returned north and south above the arches opening into the crypt, and surmounted by six very handsome bronze candlesticks, which look remarkably well in their position.

The stalls are carried completely round the eastern limb and apse; they have Corinthian backs with paintings in the panels, and are surmounted by a sham balcony. The comparatively small high altar has a reredos consisting of four Corinthian columns and a round-headed centre with square wings, and over it hangs a baldachino of white and gold stuff.

At half-past five on Whit-Tuesday I heard Vespers solemnly sung here.

The three officiants were in crimson copes, and the cantors, similarly vested, were at the lectern on the south side of the choir. The psalms were sung unaccompanied plain-chant-wise, but at the "Sicut erat in principio" to each *Gloria Patri* the organ broke in with very pleasing effect, continuing on into a short interlude between each psalm. The office Hymn was the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the *Magnificat* was sung to the sixth tone with light but not undevotional interludes. Vespers concluded, the organist decamped, leaving the clergy in the stalls behind the high altar to sing Compline as best they might.

The subject of music at Vicenza recalls an incident in the career of Domenico Dragonetti (1755-1846), who was to the aspiring bass-player what Paganini used to be to the violinist. His tone and execution alike were of the rarest type, placing him far above any contemporary performer. It was at Vicenza that Dragonetti, having received an engagement to play in the grand opera, met with his renowned double-bass, the work of Gasparo di Salò, who was master to the celebrated Amati.* The instrument had formerly belonged to the Convent of St Pietro. The happy Dragonetti hastened to have his prize repaired, and when finished, he proceeded to make the full trial of its powers in the hall of his residence. So great was the strength of the tone he produced, that some of the servants came out of the kitchen, wondering what had caused the vibration of the brazen vessels on the shelves. They who are inclined to question this fact should recollect that it is no uncommon occurrence

*This celebrated instrument, the identical one always played upon by him at public concerts and at solemn public performance in the church service, was bequeathed by Dragonetti to the Patriarchal Church of St Mark, Venice.

with powerful voices in a room to produce a considerable vibration of the wine-glasses on the table or sideboard.

As an architectural monument the Cathedral of Vicenza falls considerably below the churches of La Sacra Corona and St Lorenzo.

The former is a large cruciform brick church chiefly of thirteenth-century date, with one of those gabled west fronts masking the ends of the lean-to aisles that are of such frequent occurrence in Italy. The central compartment of the front, i.e., that corresponding to the nave, displays a very large circular window with wheel-like tracery forming sixteen divisions, and a doorway whose pointed arch rises from square and clustered cylindrical shafts with *à crochet* capitals.

A modern sculpture of the cross encircled with the crown of thorns occupies the tympanum, while the lintel bears the legend, *Tuam coronam adoramus, Domine.* In the compartment at the end of either aisle is a long two-light window, with a traceried cross-bar or transom at mid-height, such as we see in the apses of the two great Venetian churches of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the Frari. The west front of a short lean-to aisle or chapel on the south side, abutting on a very graceful open porch, shows a trefoiled lancet. There are four bays to the nave, the columns being cylinders with cubiform capitals reminiscent of an earlier style; but the column at the junction of the nave and transept is octagonal with the oblique sides narrower than the cardinal ones. Here the capitals are of the stiff-leafed or *à crochet* kind, and as there is no central tower requiring a great mass of pier to support it, these isolated octagonal columns have a peculiar effect similar to that produced by those beautifully clustered ones in the

same position at Exeter, where, it will be remembered, the towers partly form the transepts. From the capitals of the nave piers at La Corona rise pilaster-like shafts supporting the plain, wide transverse arches of the quadripartite vaulting. The triforium is absent, and the bare expanse of wall between the nave arcades and the clerestory windows is an unpleasant, and by no means infrequent, Italian-Gothic feature. The clerestory is of good height, the heads of its two-light windows, with shafts coupled transversely, following the lines of the vaulting. There is no clerestory to the first bay of the eastern limb, its arch rising to the same height as those opening into the transepts. Beyond this there is a short unpierced bay containing the steps leading up to the choir and down to the crypt. An apse without radiating chapels, and lighted by blunt-headed lancet windows, transomed at mid-height like those in the choir of the Duomo, terminates the whole; the division between the eastern limb and the apse being marked by an arch rising from two attached half-columns with foliaged capitals.

Some of the best modern stained glass I saw in Italy fills the narrow lancets of the apse, the tinctures of the full-length figures of saints therein represented being unusually brilliant and good.

My ecclesiological studies at St Lorenzo were impeded by the works of restoration which, at the time of my visit, were going on in the interior. Like La Corona, St Lorenzo is a cruciform church without much beauty of external outline, but here the aisles are much loftier, and the western façade resembles that of the Cathedral, comprising seven pointed arches on square piers extending completely across its lower portion, and a large rose window surmounted by smaller ones which follow the great gable of the upper one.



Vicenza: Interior of St. Lorenzo.

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The three central arches are interrupted by a very noble and deeply recessed portal, whose gable reaches nearly to the whole height of this lower stage of the façade, while in each of the two on either side is one of those tombs which, corbelled off from the wall and surmounted by a gabled arch commensurate in depth, are of such frequent occurrence on the exteriors of Italian-Gothic churches. Within, the arcade assumes much loftier proportions than that of the Corona church, pointed arches rising from gracefully proportioned cylindrical pillars, the carving of whose capitals is of somewhat ambiguous design, at one time looking like shells, at another like flowers.

The other churches that I saw in Vicenza are in the Renaissance style and, although imposing from their grand dimensions and the richness of their furniture, do not call for any special description. St Stefano is a Corinthian edifice with an aisleless nave, transepts, short apsidal sanctuary, in the apse of which is placed the organ, while a well-proportioned dome rises at the intersection. There was an Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament when I visited this church during the afternoon; several ecclesiastics in albs and crimson tippets were engaged in private devotion at desks placed within the sanctuary rails, and some tapers burned upon the high altar.

At night the interior was a scene of much gorgeousness, a result towards which the crimson damask hangings on the walls and pillars largely contributed. The altar was a perfect blaze of lights, and when at certain parts of the service the acolytes tossed up their thuribles, and the priests in their fine copes grouped themselves in the sanctuary, the effect was really imposing, and, when the usual confusion attendant upon the hiring of chairs had subsided, the ser-

vice was restful. The *Te Deum*, solemnly sung to the plain chant and in concerted parts in alternate verses, was tolerable; but the *Tantum Ergo* was to that slip-shod version of the melody which I heard everywhere in Italy, albeit the congregation joined in it with considerable vigour and with impressive effect.

St Stefano at Vicenza has four remarkably fine and sonorous bells, which, in accordance with Italian usage, were rung intermittently for nearly an hour before the service began. Their voices, however, alternated very agreeably with those of the choir whom I heard rehearsing the music for the forthcoming service in the adjacent song school, as I strolled about the Piazza surrounding the church under the starlit sky of a still June night.



Padua: Interior of the Arena Chapel, looking West.

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CHAPTER V

Padua

"IT was heat and midday," when, on Wednesday in Whitsun week, I reached Padua, that city of domes, wall-paintings and endless perspectives of colonnades, that "Urbem Patavi sedesque Teucrorum," and reflected with no little exultation that I stood, so to speak, on the confines of Greek and Latin literature, in a city that derives its origin from a catastrophe celebrated in itself or in its consequences by the two greatest poets of antiquity.

A picturesque but in some places deserted-looking city is Padua, with arcaded streets and many bridges crossing the various branches of the Bacchiglione, which once surrounded the ancient walls.

The Palazzo della Ragione, with its great hall on the upper floor, is reputed to have the largest roof unsupported by columns in Europe. In plan it is nearly a rectangle, 267½ feet long by 89 broad, and 78 high. The walls are covered with symbolical paintings in fresco, and the whole stands upon arches, the upper story being surrounded by an open loggia not unlike that of the great basilica at Vicenza.

Begun in 1172 it was not completed until 1306, when it was roofed by the skill of Giovanni, an Augustinian friar. Originally it had three roofs spanning three chambers, into which the hall was at first divided. The internal partition walls remained until a fire in 1420, when a Venetian architect who undertook the restoration of the building removed them, throwing all three compartments into one and form-

ing the present huge pillarless expanse. Viewed at a distance the roof looks like the inverted hull of some great ship.

The Cathedral of Padua, which by the way is built with the apse to the west, is a large, naked and unfinished church designed in revived classical by Michael Angelo. It is cruciform with a dome which seems poor and unsatisfactory in effect. There is an (ecclesiologically) western transept surmounted by a smaller dome, and a miserable unfinished brick façade. Internally the Cathedral is spacious but quite uninteresting architecturally. The stalls are behind the high altar and are triple.

The high altar has two faces, but neither super-altar nor reredos, but a baldachino is suspended above it.

The transepts are fitted up like choirs, and there are two organs.

However, there are some relics of the earlier building in the shape of an extremely good recumbent effigy of a bishop, and a high tomb bracketed on the wall with half-figures of saints in bold relief in quatrefoils on the sides. There is another equally good tomb bracketed on the east wall of the south transept.

Of far greater interest is the thirteenth-century Lombard Baptistery, or Church of St Giovanni Battista, adjacent to the south-west, really north-east, end of the Cathedral. In plan it is a square for some height, then becoming circular and surmounted by a dome masked externally by high walls like that at Parma only on a much more modest scale. On the eastern face of the square is a low projection constituting a chancel with an altar under a smaller dome, seen rising out of the roof of a lean-to roofed building commensurate in length and pierced at its south-east angle with a porch. The walls are of brick, with very few openings,

and are recessed in panels between surface-buttresses and engrailed corbel tables.

In the centre of the building stands the font, cylindrical and bearing on its cover a figure of St John the Baptist. Frescoes of much beauty and excellence enrich the entire walls. In the middle of the large dome is a half-figure of our Lord in the attitude of benediction, clothed in light pink, with a mantle of light blue, and holding an open book thus inscribed, *Ego sum* AΩ, *Primus et No*[*vissimus*]. All around there is a hierarchy, the blessed being arranged in circles and the Virgin Mary appearing in an aureole. Scenes from the Creation and Biblical history are depicted in the tambour, while the pendentives display the Evangelists and their symbols. The southern wall of the square portion has the following scenes from the life of St John the Baptist: the Angel's Visit to Zacharias; Birth of St John; he is brought to Zacharias; Preaches in the Desert; Baptizes our Lord; Lies in Prison; Certain Miracles; Herod's Feast; The Decollation of St John; his Head carried on the Charger. On the west side—taking the chancel as the east—are the Annunciation, Presentation, Visitation, Herod's cruelty, the Dispute of the Doctors, the Procession of Palms and the Last Supper, besides the Blessed Virgin under a canopy and St John the Baptist.

On the north side we see the Nativity, Epiphany, Circumcision, Call of St Peter, of St Matthew, the Marriage at Cana and three scenes from the Passion.

The remaining side has the Flight into Egypt, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, so placed that it forms the central subject over the arch opening into the chancel, the Entombment, the Resurrection and the Ascension. The small dome, over the chancel, has a half-figure of our Lord

in the middle surrounded by the Blessed Virgin and the twelve Apostles. Subjects from the Apocalypse enrich the side walls, and behind the altar there is a reredos painted with many saints in compartments on a gold ground.

These wall paintings in the Baptistery of the Duomo at Padua have been ascribed to Giusto di Giovanni de Menabuoi, called Padovano, or Justus of Padua, a Florentine of the fourteenth century, whose only authenticated picture is a small triptych in the National Gallery, having as its central subject the Coronation of the Virgin; but they have now been declared to be the works of two unimportant painters who were probably his pupils—Giovanni and Antonio da Padova—to whom are likewise due the frescoes in the Chapel of St Luke at St Antonio.

Taken as a whole, the ecclesiastical architecture of Padua must be pronounced very inferior, but in compensation we have the remarkable wall paintings by which not only the baptistery just described is adorned, but also the little Chapel of the Arena, and the adjacent Church of the Eremitani.

It is at Padua and Assisi that Giotto's chief works are to be found. Some remain at Rome, and at Ravenna one of the most beautiful contrasts in the world is in St Giovanni Evangelista, where one of the chapels is decorated like the Arena Chapel at Padua with Giotto's blue backgrounds and lovely faces. His greatest architectural monument is the Campanile at Florence; the Arena Chapel at Padua affords an idea of the universality of his powers as a colourist. To this day no man has excelled or can excel the qualities of the blonde faces one sees at Padua and Ravenna: his blues, warm whites, golden tints on hair and ornaments, with many subtle uses of Indian red or other pigments and va-



Padua: Baptistery of the Cathedral.

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rious greens, are all matters of professional study to this day.

Nowhere can the subject of painted wall decoration be more advantageously studied than in Italy. In English, French and German buildings we find it in a very fragmentary state from decay and intentional obliteration, but in those of Italy we may study it in its integrity. Besides this, the Italians having always excelled as colourists, the intrinsic merits of these decorations may fairly be supposed to be such as to command our special attention.

These details, however, can hardly be generally recommended to direct imitation, being very materially derived from classic ornament, and they were frequently guilty of the modern sin of shamming, their decorations often representing marble of different kinds, mouldings and mosaics.

The bands or borders of ornamental work with which they framed their frescoes or divided the surfaces of wall or ceilings, and with which they edged their windows or the compartments of groined vaulting, are often peculiarly beautiful in their treatment, and though bearing strong marks of the antique have furnished many a useful hint for ourselves.

Their mode of introducing small busts of saints in fresco in quatrefoils at intervals in their borders and in circles in the vaulting is peculiarly beautiful, and has been adopted in English work since the Gothic Revival, where a more extended use of fresco has been found impossible.

Fresco painting, properly so-called, can only be studied in Italy. It is the great glory of medieval art in that country, and in many cases buildings seem to have been designed expressly as a field for artistic decoration of the highest order, as for instance in this little Arena Chapel at

Padua, the depository of the freshest and on the whole the most delightful works of Giotto. Indeed, its walls resemble pages from an illuminated manuscript.

Although studiously simple, few buildings in Italian Pointed can exceed in interest the little chapel of Sta Maria dell' Arena at Padua, which was not only painted but designed by Giotto, who is said to have been aided by Dante in the choice of designs. In plan it is an oblong nave, with a chancel of one bay besides an unequal three-sided apse, about half the breadth of the nave. The chancel is groined; its north wall has a door (at its extreme west end) into a sacristy, beyond which are four miserere seats, well carved, with a stone canopy. There are five such seats against the south wall, and a piscina west of them all, facing the sacristy door. The broadest side of the apse is blank, but has a rood, but the oblique sides have single lancet lights with broad splays. The heads of these lancets are not pierced, but fitted with a plain surface of stone, below which are pierced openings, with square cinquefoiled tops.* Under each of these windows are two stone seats, presumably for sedilia. The altar stands detached from the wall in the apse, and there is an ascent to it of three steps guarded on each side by rails of wrought iron, with sockets for tapers along the top. The chancel arch is pointed, of two plain orders, merely marked at the impost by a band of floral mouldings on the hollow chamfered under-edge of an abacus.

The north side of the nave has no windows; the south has six blunt-pointed lancets, and the west end a three-light window above the only door. The windows mostly

*These windows are examples of the plate form of tracery in its simplest conditions, a system at once simple, natural and effective.

retain their ancient Venetian glazing—small circular panes of thick glass; but remnants of rich figured glass exist sufficient to show that it originally filled the windows, and its absence gives a somewhat cold, crude tone to the decorations.

The roof is coved, painted in azure with gold stars and relieved by medallions containing half-figures of our Lord and the Blessed Virgin.

The arrangement of the nave is remarkable. The chancel being so much narrower than the nave, there is a considerable wall-space on either side of the chancel arch. An altar stands against each of these wall spaces, raised on a platform besides a foot-pace. Westward of these are six stalls on each side, with *subsellæ* contained within low solid screens about breast high.

Thus there is a *chorus cantorum* locally situated in the nave, besides the chancel. A few feet further to the west are two more solid, but low, screens, between which and the eastern screens on each side are rises of steps to a platform at the level of the top of the screen.

There is a revolving lectern on the east face of each platform and two more altars, one on each side on the west face of the western-most screens which support sockets. In the roof above is a large hole, pointing to the probability of a rood beam having once spanned the chapel at this point.

It is not quite certain at what date Giotto went to Padua, but this Scrovegno Chapel in the old arena of the city was not built until 1303, and it was its founder, Enrico Scrovegno, a noble citizen, who employed Giotto to decorate it.

The undertaking was an arduous one, but the result was equal to the opportunity, and this great decorative work at Padua may be looked upon as the culminating expression of Giotto's art.

Nowhere do we find his ideal of concise directness of representation more successfully expressed than is the case here, and nowhere do we find him reaching a similar perfection in the presentation of form and movement. The entire decoration of this charming little edifice takes a foremost place among the wonders of medieval art, but to enter into a detailed description of the numerous subjects would here be impossible. The "Last Judgement" alone would offer material sufficient for an almost endless study. The influence of Dante was no doubt strong in Giotto at the time when he painted this great "doom," and it is conceived in quite a Dantesque style.

Briefly, the iconography of the chapel is as follows:

Commencing at the west end of the nave, which is entirely frescoed without a single string-course or moulding, we have above the entrance the "Last Judgement." Our Lord, in an oval aureole, vested in pink with a white mantle, is surrounded by the apostles seated on thrones. St Mary is not enthroned, but stands in an aureole at the head of the redeemed. Two angels, vested with crossed stoles, bear the cross of the T-form. Scrovigno, the founder of the chapel, is seen below offering a model of it to our Lord. Three flying angels receive it from him.

Over the chancel arch is the "Annunciation"; but to describe all the subjects in detail would require a separate chapter. Suffice it to say that they are not only very numerous and very beautiful, but constitute quite an epitome of sacred history. Our Lord is generally vested in a light pink robe with an upper mantle of light blue, both edged with gold. The under-vestment is seamless, and like a dalmatic in shape. St Mary is always in light blue edged with gold.



Padua: Interior of the Arena Chapel, looking East.

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The treatment of the "Resurrection" is uncommonly grand and beautiful; the vestments of the Saviour are white and gold, and the attendant angels are represented in copes. It should be observed that our Lord's nimbus is always cruciferous. One of the most beautiful figures in the "Crucifixion" group is that of the Magdalene. Equally well treated are the "Descent from the Cross" and the "Ascension."

In the "Day of Pentecost" the Twelve Apostles only are present, the Blessed Virgin not being introduced. The basement of the walls is painted, not in subjects, but in allegorical or symbolic figures of the Virtues and Vices intermixed into architectural compartments, presenting imitations of marble, panelling, etc., with borders closely resembling those executed in mosaic upon the tomb of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, a species of decoration that appears to have found much favour amongst the Italian artists of Giotto's time, as it appears in the papal chapel at Avignon, painted in his style or by his school.

The northern wall of the chancel shows us the "Repose of the Blessed Virgin"; the southern one her burial and assumption. By the altar are various saints, and in the wall behind the sedilia there is a charming figure of our Lady with the Holy Infant. Here the Virgin is vested in a light blue robe, under a cope, and a white veil. In the tympanum of the sacristy door is a striking half-figure of our Lord being mocked.

All these frescoes in the chancel are inferior to those in the nave, and supposed by some to be by Taddeo di Bartolo of Siena, but, from the close approach to Giotto's own style, they are more likely to be the work of his pupil, Taddeo Gaddi.

In close proximity to this little fourteenth-century Chapel

of the Arena stands the Church of the Eremitani, dedicated to SS. Philip, James and Augustine, more remarkable for its frescoes by Guariento in the great apse, and those by Mantegna in the chapel opening out of the south transept, than for much beauty as a specimen of late thirteenth-century architecture. For, like St Fermo and others in Verona, it is one of those huge aisleless churches built for the use and convenience of an order of preachers, and not for receiving a number of altars.

It consists merely of a nave, 300 feet long, covered with a roof of wood, massy and simple, of trefoil shape, boarded and panelled so as to hide the construction. There are also many interesting tombs, but perhaps the greatest treasure enshrined in this church is the altarpiece in the large chapel of SS. Christopher and James, so remarkable for the great beauty and purity of its design as to have excited the admiration of all competent critics, but which appears to have been executed by a sculptor of whom almost nothing is known, and of whom it is not recorded that we possess any other work. Originally executed in terra-cotta, now coated with a brown varnish which causes it to look like bronze, this altarpiece was carved about 1451 by Giovanni da Pisa, a companion and disciple of Donatello, who accompanied him to Padua at that time. This chapel contains some early but very fine frescoes of the painter Andrea Mantegna, and it would seem that this great master's style had largely influenced the mind of the sculptor, if it did not furnish the design, as it is impossible to avoid being struck by the great similarity of treatment and character in the sculpture to the works of the painter.

In the centre of the retable is the Madonna seated in a high-backed throne of quite classical severity. On either

side are three standing figures. Those immediately in attendance on the Virgin and the divine Infant are St John the Baptist and St Philip, who occupy a curve made by what is apparently a hanging of some textile fabric, and which forms the background to the figures on either side of the throne. To the right of the spectator are St Christopher with the Infant Christ on his shoulder, and St James the Less; to the right are two figures in monastic habit, one representing St Augustine, to whom the church is conjointly dedicated.

In shape this retable is an oblong quite free from architectural accessories, and on this account is apt to be overlooked by the visitor, dazzled and absorbed by Mantegna's superb paintings. It is a work singular for the purity of the composition in which, while partly retaining the antique mode of distribution and its simplicity, we still observe a variety of motives, and a certain grace and naturalness by which the observer finds himself beyond measure charmed by the attitudes, by the beautiful draperies, by the intelligent anatomy, and thence he recognizes an art much more mature than would at first appear. Indeed for refinement and dignity of treatment this retable in the chapel of SS. Christopher and James in the Eremitani Church at Padua is worthy of a place amongst the best specimens of the first half of the fifteenth century.

At precisely what date Mantegna began the paintings in this chapel attached to the Eremitani Church at Padua —the work by which he is best known—we have no certain knowledge; but they may be placed approximately between 1448 and 1455. The commission for the decoration of this chapel had been given to Squarcione and his disciples by the Ovetari family, and it is probable that much

of the work had already been begun when Mantegna assumed the responsibility. The following are only by his hand: On the left wall, "The Baptism of Hermogenes," "St James before Cæsar," "St James led to Execution" and "The Martyrdom of St James"; on the right wall, "The Martyrdom of St Christopher" and "The Removal of his Body."

Taken in the above order a steady evolution may be traced from an academic and somewhat rigid style to a free and natural treatment of form. Composition and effect show a similar development.

The fame of these frescoes in the Church of the Eremitani spread rapidly, and Mantegna became undisputed chief of the Paduan painters. His genius was recognized and applauded by princes and scholars. Books were dedicated to him and poems composed in his honour. To this period of his career (c. 1460) belongs the altarpiece representing the Madonna enthroned in St Zeno at Verona.

Mantegna's wall painting was never fresco in the true sense of the word, but is done on the dry plaster, a process to which their present dilapidated condition is due. His influence, not only upon Italian art but throughout Germany, was immense. Through him alone the Paduan school of painting attained independence, and few painters have left stronger or more beneficial effects upon contemporary art than Mantegna. Not a school in Italy remained untouched by his influence.

Padua possesses the earliest dated work of Mantegna, the fresco representing SS. Antonio and Bernardino over the western portal of the church dedicated to the former saint, and to which we must now turn our attention. Early as it is, we find in this embellishment to the great false

ST. ANTONIO, PADUA.

FROM THE SOUTH.



front given by Niccola Pisano to his extraordinary creation —a front in which everything is sacrificed to breadth of effect—that perfection of technique, mastery of perspective and plasticity of modelling which distinguishes Mantegna's works throughout. The fact that when only twenty-four he was employed in the three principal churches of Padua proves that Mantegna's powers were fully recognized.

St Antonio at Padua is one of those buildings met with in many countries which present all manner of anomalous characters, separating themselves from the other structures of the same age and nation, and perplexing investigation. The anomalous appearance of this church would appear to have arisen from the attempt of an Italian Gothic architect to imitate other churches, notably St Mark's, Venice. It belongs to an early period of the style, having been in course of construction between 1231 and 1300, from the designs of Niccola Pisano. Of the origin of this architect, who was born in 1205, but little is known, but that little is something wonderful if we are to credit the statement that already, when only about fifteen years old, the Emperor Frederick II made him his architect, and took him to Naples, where he was employed on the castle which that Emperor was building there. At the age of twenty-six we find him going to Padua to build St Antonio, and then to Arezzo to build St Domenico. Then we find him developing his skill as a sculptor, executing pulpits for Pisa and Siena, and designing, and with the powerful aid of his son Giovanni executing, the great fountain at Perugia. The upper part of the lovely façade of the Cathedral at Ferrara is likewise due to Pisano, who may be styled the Vilars de Honnecourt of Italy. He visits Venice, studies St Mark's as a preparative for his first great work, St Antonio at

Padua, picking up ideas where he can, and adapting them to his own purpose. He thinks the group of domes at St Mark's might be improved if they were loftier, and if one were in some way more striking than the rest; then, recollecting the great cone which covers the central portion of the circular Baptistery at Pisa, he, with striking effect, places it in the centre of this group of domes.

Then he may have paid a visit to Münster in Westphalia, where the great Cathedral was then growing to its present shape, and to certain of the French churches where their architects were producing those inimitable apses with procession paths and coronæ of chapels, and determines to imitate them ; which he does though in a clumsy and ill-conceived manner at Padua, for they are as badly designed a succession of square chapels as they well can be; nevertheless, in the following century, they seem to have been the model on which the never-to-be-completed choir of St Petronio at Bologna was to have been founded.

The façade, with its gable screening the whole width of the church and its five shallow pointed arches, surmounted by an arcaded gallery, recalls the outlines of the Greek churches with which he was familiar, and seems to have been pretty closely imitated in this part of the country, notably at Vicenza, as we have seen in the façades of the Duomo and St Lorenzo.

The whole group of domes and steeples at St Antonio surpasses any of those which had been erected somewhat on the same lines before Pisano's time in Lombardy and along the courses of the Rhine and Main, though to the educated eye the whole exterior has an uncomfortably crowded look.

Thus grew this great church, the Mecca of Northern

Italy. In spite of all interest it lacks the impress of a really great architectural hand, and cannot be compared for a moment with the far more refined and scientific churches which the French had been building for a quarter of a century before its foundation ; but the grouping of the external outline, a point seldom regarded by the early Italian architects, is undeniably remarkable.

One of the best views of the exterior is to be had from the great cloister on the south side of the nave. There are four ambulatories: the eastern and western ones are shorter than the northern and southern, and their arcades looking on to the quadrangle have, like those in most North Italian cloisters of the same period, wide pointed arches without tracery, springing from tall cylindrical shafts with capitals of the stiff-leafed kind. The shaft at the angle of each ambulatory is, however, an octagon, built in alternate layers of green marble and white stone, and has a much more elaborately worked capital. The north and west walks have lean-to roofs of tiles, the other two are surmounted by domestic buildings. The apse of a chapel opening out of the south aisle of the nave projects into the northern walk, while from the eastern one a pointed doorway with simply moulded jambs and three uncarved capitals, and flanked on either side by three pointed arcades on cylindrical shafts with foliaged capitals, admits to the chapter house, which measures 50 feet from north to south. At the south end of the same walk a very plain pointed arch admits to another great cloister, with even loftier arcades of the same type as in the one just described.

Internally St Antonio at Padua is not only one of the coldest, but for the period of its construction, one of the plainest churches of my acquaintance in this part of Italy,

deriving its impressiveness mainly from its great size and unencumbered area. Nowhere is sculptural ornamentation visible, for there can be no doubt that the architect intended it for that wall decoration in which, to judge from such fragments as have been brought to light on denuding them of their whitewash, it must have been extremely rich.

Designs for an elaborate scheme of colouration are hung up in the nave, and progress is now being made with that of the choir which, at the time of my visit, was so encumbered with scaffolding as to impede any researches into the architecture of that part of the church.

A commencement of stained glass on the model of that in some of the great Northern French cathedrals has been made, and the great roses of the eastern transepts, so remarkable for their rectilinear tracery—reminding me, by the way, of the eastern circle in St Margaret's, King's Lynn—and the lancets which light the choir and the wall above the arches opening from the procession path into the chapels, have received their complement.

The arcades surrounding the choir are very lofty, and their piers, being huge elongated ones, recall those in such churches of French Flanders as St Omer and Tournai. One arch opens into the transept and the lesser one to the east of it, while each of the two great domed compartments composing the nave are subdivided by a pair of pointed arches on piers of the simplest description. A passage way protected by a balcony of pillarets is formed above these arches, and high up in the surmounting wall are windows of two lights each, in couples. Across the great arch opening from the central dome into the transept is a screen of open arches, Pointed on the south and early Renaissance on the north. The former admit to the chapel of St Felix, rich in restored



Padua: Interior of St. Antonio, from behind the High Altar.

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wall paintings by Jacopo Avanzi and Altichieri da Zevio (1376); the latter to the chapel containing the shrine and altar of the patron, before which a goodly number of devotees were always gathered, and lamps and candles incessantly burning. At this altar a succession of Masses was said up to eleven o'clock, when a fully choral one commenced, the Gregorian chant being impressively rendered by the brethren in the sumptuously fitted choir.

The neighbouring great Renaissance Sta Giustina was completed—in so far at least as its interior is concerned, upon one uniform original design. In dimensions it surpasses almost any other church of its age, excepting, of course, St Peter's,* and its proportions are remarkably harmonious and pleasing.

There is, however, a plainness almost amounting to rudeness, in its details which are not only too large and coarse for internal purposes, but is repeated *usque ad nauseam* throughout the interior.

As a work of engineering science Sta Giustina may be called a good and appropriate specimen, but as a work of art it fails, chiefly because, though the design is ornamental, the church itself is by no means ornate. Its outline is grand and well proportioned, though monotonous, but it is deficient in that grace and elegance of detail which would bring it within the domain of architecture as a fine art, and without which a building remains the work of an engineer or a builder.

Evidently Sta Giustina had for its pattern the neighbouring St Antonio, and internally presents a fine alterna-

* The dimensions of Sta Giustina are as follows: Length, 500 feet; breadth, 140 feet; breadth at transept, 350 feet; height, 120 feet; the central dome, 265 feet.

tion of arch and dome. In its accessory system it employs the pilaster, always less unpleasant in this position than the engaged column, but as a composition perhaps the Cathedral is preferable.

Here we have only two domes, one at the crossing and one at the west end separated by a cylindrical vault springing from a mass which contains two arches with pilasters between them, and crowned with an entablature. A similar space intervenes between each dome and the corresponding end of the church. The imposts of the arches are here plain, instead of being, as at Sta Giustina, repetitions on a small scale of the large pilasters.

Addison, who set out upon the Grand Tour in 1699 with a purse full of guineas, and the reputation of being the most elegant scholar of his day,* visits Padua in due course, where he seems to have been much struck with Sta Giustina, which he describes in his *Remarks on Italy* as "the most handsome, luminous, disencumbered building in the inside that I have ever seen, and is esteemed by artists one of the finest works in Italy. The long nave consists of a row of five cupolas; the cross one on each side has a single cupola deeper and broader than the others."

Addison's description as to the luminosity and unencumbered area of Sta Giustina holds good at the present day. The pavement, perfectly clear of chairs or benches, is laid out in compartments of white and red marble, and its

* It was in 1695 that Addison ventured to address a complimentary poem on one of the campaigns of King William III which won the favour of Lord Somers, through whom it reached the royal hand. This procured for him a pension of £300 a year that he might cultivate his classic taste by travel on the Continent. On his return home Addison published his travels, which he addressed to his patron. This work was somewhat neglected at first, but subsequently, as a classical and scholastic tour, became exceedingly popular.

numerous altars with their decorations are in the same costly material. The whole appeared like a church only just finished, so clean and neat is the air pervading everything; indeed as far as the ensemble goes I must own that of all the Renaissance fabrics which I had the opportunity of examinning during this tour, I was most delighted with the interior of Sta Giustina at Padua.

It displays the characteristic features of Palladian architecture to the highest advantage, and in a manner not often witnessed even in Italy. It was, if I am not mistaken, begun on the plan of Palladio in 1502 from the designs of Padre Giralimo da Brescia, and completed half a century later under Andrea Morona.* Some defects consequently occur in the execution which ought not to be attributed to its illustrious originator, particularly as these defects are lost in the admirable symmetry and proportion of the whole; perfections owing exclusively to the genius that conceived and arranged the original model. On the whole Palladio may be considered as the Vitruvius of revived classical architecture, and those desirous of studying the many monuments of Palladian skill that abound in Northern Italy cannot do better than make Vicenza and Padua their headquarters.

Like many another North Italian church Sta Giustina was desecrated during the foreign occupations, being turned into a flour magazine, the services intermitted, and the pictures covered.

Perhaps this fact may account in some way for the cleanly air of the church to which I have alluded. It was in this

* With the exception of the façade, which, like that of the Cathedral, has never advanced beyond its lowest stage, the rest being a mere brick wall.

state in 1861 when it was described in an article entitled "Continental Progress" in the *Ecclesiologist* of that year.

Dragonetti, the celebrated double-bass player of whom some mention was made in connexion with Vicenza, went to Padua, where he paid a visit to the monks of the convent of Sta Giustina. His beloved bass was of course his companion; and when in conversation with the organist, Turvini Bertoni, he ventured to think that its third string could be made to produce as powerful a tone as the lower pipes of the convent organ. Bertoni treated the notion with contempt. Our *contra basso* said nothing; but, providing himself with some bass strings of enormous diameter, in the dead of a fine summer night, when the inmates of the convent were all asleep, he stole into one of the corridors and commenced a "Solo fulminato"—in common English he imitated the noise of a tempest with such effect that on the following morning every one was talking of the last night's thunder, and were not a little surprised to find that the weather had been unusually clear. On the succeeding night Dragonetti repeated his joke; one of the monks, however, running out of his dormitory, blundered over the double-bass, and at once discovered the philosophy of the thunderstorm. Bertoni yielded the palm for power to the Amati bass.

Dragonetti considered the *Passione* or *The Seven Last Words from the Cross* the finest of Haydn's compositions.

Padua may be called the City of Domes, it being quite the exception to find a church there without one.

The manner in which this feature was introduced and adopted in Italy was so diverse in its causes and its results as to render the chronicling of it in any clear consecutive order very perplexing.



Padua: Interior of Sta. Giustina, looking East.

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There were, in fact, two distinct influences, both occasionally leading to its adoption. At Rome, and in places under Roman influence, such examples as the Pantheon could not fail to have their effect upon the architecture, and we accordingly find there numerous scions of the primeval family; while the purely Byzantine forms were simultaneously introduced by way of Ravenna, and later on were planted at Venice. Through this twofold influence the dome became very frequent throughout Italy. It was carried by Charlemagne from St Vitalis at Ravenna to Aix-la-Chapelle, and later on was carried forward from Lombardy, under the first three Othos, across the Alps, down the valley of the Rhine and far into the interior of Germany. Only a few years later it was conveyed from Venice into the interior of South-western France, whence it spread through an extensive district stretching eastward into Auvergne, even as far as Lyons, and northwards to the banks of the Loire, where to this day the effigies of our Plantagenet kings lie beneath a series of pendentive domes, almost as perfect as if at Constantinople.

In the thirteenth century we have several very graceful applications of the dome in Italy, notably in the baptisteries of Parma and Pisa, and when later on the great domed creations of Brunelleschi and Michael Angelo had set the fashion, no church was hereafter built in that country in which the dome did not constitute the leading feature in the design.

CHAPTER VI

St Mark's, Venice, and Torcello

IT is in the peerless evening of Wednesday in Whitsun week of the year of grace just passed, that I traverse the dark narthex with its memories of Frederic Barbarossa and Alexander, ascend the marble steps and, drawing aside a curtain, realize what has been the aspiration of a lifetime,—to behold the fair beauty of the interior of St Mark's, Venice, that vast museum filled with curious objects, collected with religious zeal and preserved with religious care; that open lap of the Queen of the Adriatic into which the spoils of the East have been poured.

An Office has lately been concluded, and some wreaths of incense cloud, "lingering as loth to die," hang about the mighty mosaic-encrusted domes from which the images of Christ and His saints look down continually.

It is a shadowy dreamland, far away from the noise and turmoil of the daytime, upon which I seem to enter this June afternoon.

Twelve hours later, and I am again on my way to St Mark's, gliding in the freshness of early morning along the Grand Canal in a gondola, with my attention riveted almost every moment by the splendid show on either side of this "silent highway."

The long wave which the prow turns over is dashed against a wall of marble-fronted palaces, the names of which are carelessly mentioned by the gondolier, awakening trails of golden memories in the mind. High in the clear early

morning atmosphere arise the capanili of the churches with which wealth and devotion have crowded the islands of Venice, and their bells are filling the air with a stream of undulating music, inviting the devout to early Mass.

I disembark at the heart of Venice, the great open space in front of the Ducal Palace, and enter the Cathedral, to enjoy an ecclesiological pleasure which I have often had before—to watch the rising sun bringing out more and more distinctly the form of some saint or angel, mystic form or sacred symbol. Gradually it brings into prominence those twelve apostles, guarding like calm sentinels the gate of heaven, as symbolized in the screen, while ever and anon the silvery tongue of the Sanctus bell proclaims the Elevation of the Host.

The Cathedral of Venice stands quite alone among the buildings of the world in respect of its unequalled richness of material and decoration, and also from the fact that it has been constructed with the spoils of countless other buildings, and therefore forms a museum of sculpture of the most varied kind, nearly every century from the fourth down to the latest Renaissance being represented more or less largely.

The grandeur of its interior amazes one at first, and delights all the more afterwards, as one becomes on more intimate terms with it, and can look at it with less emotion than at first. And how shall I describe it?—for that it has so many bays in length or in the width is not sufficient: all this, and even the detail of the design, was familiar enough to me before I saw it, but still the reality was so far beyond any description, that I felt, and feel still, averse to attempting it.

During the early years of Venetian history the site of the

present church and square of St Mark was a large grassy field, with rows of trees divided by a canal (which no longer exists) and containing two churches. One of them, dedicated to St Theodore, the old patron saint of Venice, stood a little to the north of the site of the present Cathedral of St Mark. The other, that of St Geminiano, was a little to the north-west of the great campanile. This church was built between 1173 and 1179 by Sebastiano Ziani, when he demolished the original church in order to extend the square westwards. In the sixteenth century it was again rebuilt by Cristoforo del Legname and Sansovino, and was destroyed in 1805 by Napoleon to make room for a new block to unite the two palaces of the procurators.*

The grassy *campo* where those churches stood was the property of the abbey of Sta Zaccaria. At the eastern extremity a small palace was built for the Doge about 810, when Venice first became the chief ducal place of residence under Angelo Participatio. It was within the chapel of this ducal palace that the body of St Mark was laid when, in 831, it was brought from Alexandria to Venice. With the sole exception of Rome, Venice claimed pre-eminence in that possession of much valued relics,† which has often proved to

* The site of this church is still marked by a strip of red marble inlaid in the pavement of the Piazza San Marco.

† Besides her supremely honoured shrine with the relics of St Mark, that veritable palladium of her State in one dominant belief, Ughellius tells us that the churches of Venice contain the bodies of the prophets Jonas, Zacharias and Simeon; of the patron saint Theodore; of the physicians SS. Cosmo and Damian; of St Paul, the first hermit; of St Stephen, the protomartyr, brought from Constantinople by a Venetian monk in 1110 (it is needless to undertake to decide between the rival claims of this and the other so-named body reposing at the St Lorenzo basilica, near Rome); of St Helen (also said to be alike at Rome); an arm of St George; a part of the head of St John the Baptist; and that portion of the true Cross, set in gold, which used to be carried by Constantine into battle.

Italian states and cities a fecund source of influences and public benefits—an appeal that, acting through the imagination, has touched the chords of loyalty and patriotism.

Precedence of the more illustrious St Mark's must be allowed to the beautiful old basilican cathedral in the neighbouring island of Torcello, to which the citizens of Altinum and Aquileia first fled from the barbarian invaders of Northern Italy, and which became the parent-isle of the new State, seat of its first bishopric, and long maintained as a separate See under government alike independent; for Torcello had its own Podesta and Senate, in whom all ancient rights of its inhabitants were invested, thus preserving for them an autonomic existence till the fall of the Republic. Thither, in the first half of the seventh century did the Bishop of Altinum transfer his See, with the relics enshrined in its Cathedral in the desire to withdraw from the rule and from the heretical intrusions of the Arian Longobards.

The new cathedral was founded in or about A.D. 641; first restored, being already ruinous, a little more than two centuries later; and again almost entirely rebuilt by the Bishop Orseolo (son of the illustrious Doge, Pietro Orseolo) in 1008, to which date we must assign the present edifice, though it seems certain that the plan of the seventh century basilica was retained, and that many curious architectural details may be referred to one or other of the earlier structures.

Torcello Cathedral is essentially Romanesque in character, and has none of those Oriental features peculiar to other Venetian churches. Perhaps the structure to which it bears the closest resemblance is the sixth-century cathedral of Parenzo in Istria.

At Torcello, the arrangement of the chancel and apse are perhaps its most remarkable features. The former fea-

tures, and yet differs from, those of Roman basilicas with its enclosure of marble screens, and two ambones both on the same side. The whole area is separated from the apse itself by an intervening aisle, an arrangement quite contrary to all precedents. Here the apse forms a wide semicircle, with six tiers of seats like those in the ancient amphitheatres, and the episcopal throne in the centre elevated on a high staircase, thus following out the prescription of the Apostolic Constitution: "In medio autem sit episcopi solium, et utrinque sedeat presbyterium."

The stern, I had almost said ghastly, mosaics on the walls of this ancient cathedral at Torcello may be referred to the tenth century. Barbaric in conception as in execution, they illustrate the religious feeling and the propensity to dwell on gloomy and terrific ideas of the age that gave them birth. Here we see the Doom represented with numerous episodes of infernal punishment corresponding to the most dreadful visions of medieval mysticism, a charnel-house display of death and the grave, the Limbus and the Paradisus, and, among the figures rising to be judged, kings and emperors in Byzantine costume. The composition is perhaps the earliest example, at any rate in mosaic art, of the treatment of a theme more commonly attempted in later times, though certainly beyond the range of all artistic capacities.

It was not till the eleventh century that either the Last Judgement or the successive scenes of the Passion began to be generally preferred to those evangelico-historic groups, miracles of mercy, or sacramental types, on which the mind of the Church had rather loved to dwell, and which therefore had been the favourite representations in earlier ages.

Several curious illustrations of Paganism in the Middle



Torcello: Interior of the Cathedral looking East.

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Ages may be discovered among the sculptured details of Torcello Cathedral, as, for instance, the reliefs on an ambon, that apparently bear reference to the worship of Mercury; while among singular examples of symbolism, I would allude to a relief on the episcopal throne of a hand raised in benediction between the sun and moon, implying the Divine Presence.

In the semi-dome of the great apse is a single figure of the Blessed Virgin robed in blue, on a gold ground, and holding the Divine Infant, whose nimbus is cruciferous and who is draped. The letters MP ΘY—the first and last letters of her title. MHTHP ΘEOY, the Mother of God—are on each side of her, and below is this legend, *Formula virtutis, maris astrum, porta sal*[*utis*, the word is interrupted by the single window of the apse] *Prole Maria levat quos conjuge subdidit Eva.* In the spandrils of the arch opening into the apse are the figures of the Angel Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin, representing the Annunciation, and round the arch is inscribed the following beautiful legend: *Sum Deus atque caro: Patris et sum matris imago: Non piger ad lapsum, sed flenti proximus, adsum.*

On either side of the apse window are six figures of Apostles, and under the window in the middle is a half-figure of St Heliodorus.

The southern apse has mosaics of our Lord seated, in the act of blessing, and holding a closed book, between St Michael and St Gabriel. Below are St Gregory, St Augustine, St Ambrose and St Martin; and above, the Agnus Dei and two angels.

Sta Fosca, on the same island, is probably coeval with the Cathedral, to which it is joined by the loggia which extends along the western side of the latter. Though the pre-

cise date of its origin is unknown, Sta Fosca must be referred to the tenth century at the latest, being mentioned in an extant deed, dated 1011, in the name of two ladies who endowed it with some lands.

Like St Mark's it is a monument of that veneration for relics once so ascendantly potent in the Italian mind, having been built expressly as a shrine for the remains of Sta Fosca, a virgin of noble birth who, together with her nurse, Maura, suffered martyrdom at Ravenna during the Decian persecution.

The plan of Sta Fosca is that of the Greek cross associated with the cupola of Oriental character, and in the architectonic ornaments we perceive a blending of the Byzantine with the Arabic that illustrates the early influence of the Moslem over the Christian taste.

The eastern limb of the cross is a bay longer than the others, and each of its aisles terminates in an apse. Along five sides of the exterior are carried double porticoes with high stilted arches and columns, whose antique shafts, unequal in proportion, are fitted to barbaric capitals.

The interior presents an effect harmonious and graceful, and has happily suffered but little in the course of the several restorations carried out here, the earliest dating from 1247. Selvatico, a learned writer on Venetian monuments, draws attention to the points of similarity existing between Sta Fosca and certain churches at Athens, and finds in the former the substitution of the Greek for the Latin type with remarkable clearness. But to return to St Mark's.

The Church of St Mark at Alexandria* was long celebrated as being the depository of the Evangelist's body, of

*Of this church at Alexandria nothing remains. It is believed to have occupied the site of the present lazaretto.

the translation of which to Venice a singular account is given by Sabellicus, one of the ancient Italian historians, in his *Historia Venetiæ*. It happened that at this period (c. 830) two Venetians, Bona de Malamocco and Rustico de Torcello, visiting the church, were struck with the grief exhibited by the attendant priests, and inquired into its cause. Learning their apprehensions of the church being despoiled by the myrmidons of the Moslem, the strangers entreated from the priests permission to remove the relics of the saint, not only promising them a large reward, but also the lasting gratitude of their fellow citizens, the Venetians. The clergy at Alexandria first met the request of Bono and Rustico with a decided negative; but when the sanctuary was actually invaded by the infidels, the defenceless guardians consented to yield up their sacred charge. The difficulty now was to convey the body on board one of the Venetian ships, of which there were several in the port of Alexandria, and at the same time to conceal the circumstance from the knowledge of the inhabitants, who held the remains of the Evangelist in high veneration, on account of the miracles which were performed through their agency. The body of St Mark, being removed, was replaced by that of St Claudian; but a miraculous perfume which spread itself through the church when the holy relics were brought to light nearly betrayed the removal. In transporting the body through the city to the port, it became necessary to adopt some expedient which should prevent the curiosity, both of the infidels and the Christians, from being awakened. The body was accordingly deposited in a large hamper, surrounded with vegetables and covered with pieces of pork, an article which every good Mussulman holds in abhorrence.

Those who accompanied the hamper were ordered to cry

Kanzir as they went, which in the Oriental tongue signifies pork. Having succeeded in reaching the vessels, the precious burden was suspended in the shrouds to prevent discovery, till the ship put to sea. Scarcely had the Venetians left Alexandria when an awful storm arose; and had not St Mark himself appeared to Bono de Malamocco and advised him to furl his sails, the vessel must have been lost. On their arrival at Venice the whole city was transported with joy. The presence of the saint promised perpetual splendour to the republic. The body was received by the Senate with the same words with which his Master had saluted the saint in prison, "Peace be unto thee, Mark, My Evangelist!" Venice was filled with festivals, music and prayers, and the holy relics were conducted amidst hymns and incense to the Ducal Chapel.

The Doge Giustiniano Participatio, dying a short time after this event, bequeathed a sum of money to build a church to the saint, which was accomplished under his brother and successor, Giovanni Participatio.*

In allusion to these translations of the saint's body, the *brève* attached to the name of Giustiniano Participatio, in the hall of the great Council, exhibits the following in scription :

Corporis alta datur Mihi Sancti gratia Marci.

This Ducal Chapel, projected by Giustiniano, and carried out by Giovanni Participatio, which was built between the site of the existing Ducal Palace and the church of St Theodore—hitherto the Ducal Chapel—was quite different

*According to local tradition, the remains of St Mark, when first brought to Venice, were laid in a bronze sarcophagus embedded in an interior pilaster of the new church, with cognizance of no other individuals than the Doge Participatio and the Primicerius of the basilica.

from its present aspect both in extent and plan, and in absence of rich decoration.* It was originally of the simplest basilican form, with three eastern apses and no transepts, and in it were used marble columns and capitals which had been exported from Sicily by Giustiniano Participatio after his conquest there. The ruined cities of Heraclea, Attino, Concordia and others doubtless furnished materials, as examples of all periods are found in St Mark's.

One very interesting relic of the old Ducal Palace still exists, viz., the lower part of one of its towers with walls eleven feet thick. This was converted into the treasury of St Mark when the church was enlarged so as to include it in its plan at the west corner of the south transept. Recent discoveries have brought to light the external design of the early church, which was of plain red brick, undecorated by marbles or mosaics and only relieved by very simple blank arcading, with round arches not unlike those in some early Anglo-Norman buildings.

In 976 this church was burnt, together with the rest of the palace, during an insurrection against the Doge Candiano IV, and rebuilt on a larger scale by his successor Pietro Orseolo, but as he embraced a monastic life within two years, it is hardly possible that he can have done more than restore the old church to its primitive form, and there is no record of a continuation of building in succeeding years.

The nucleus of the present church has been ascertained from documents discovered in 1859 to belong to the period comprised between 1047 and 1071.† Cuttaneo, who

*There is much analogy between the relationship of St Mark's to the Ducal Palace, and that of the Abbey Church to the royal palace at Westminster. Both were originally built in connexion with royal palaces, and both possessed privileges as "royal peculiars."

†An inscription, now lost, recorded the completion of St Mark's in

has traced the early history of the present cathedral and of its predecessors, accepts 1063 as the date of the actual commencement of the works. All the East, so far as it was accessible to the Venetian ships, was laid under contribution for columns and other architectural embellishments.

Here the Greek architect came in, showing the Venetians how the simple basilican plan could be extended north and south by great transepts, and how, without increasing the length, an immense domed space could be obtained in the centre. Thus arose a building which was inspired throughout by Byzantine work, and of which the main design was certainly due to a Greek architect, and in all probability exercised no small influence on the Lombard architecture of the twelfth and succeeding centuries.*

The design of St Mark's is often spoken of as founded on that of Sta Sophia at Constantinople. This is erroneous. The Church of the Apostles in that city would seem to have furnished the model.

That church, however, was demolished in 1464 by Mohammed II to build a mosque on the site, so that the only data we have to go upon is the description given of it by Procopius, a historian who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

"In ancient times," says Procopius, "there was one church dedicated to the Apostles, but through length of time it had become ruinous, and seemed not likely to stand

1071, but it was not consecrated till 1085, in the reign of Vitale Faliero (1084-1096), when it was dedicated "to God, the glorious Virgin Annunciate, and to the protector St Mark."

* St-Front at Périgueux, built between 984 and 1047, was considered by M. Verneille to be the work of the architect of St Mark's or a direct imitation of that church, and there was a Greek or Venetian colony at Limoges in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

much longer. Justinian took this entirely down, and was careful, not only to rebuild it, but to render it more admirable both in size and beauty. He carried out his intention in the following manner. Two lines were drawn in the form of a cross joining one another in the middle, the upright one pointing to the rising and setting sun, and the cross line to the north and south wind. These were surrounded by a circuit of walls, and within by columns, placed both above and below. About the middle point there is a place set apart, which may not be entered except by the priests, and which is consequently termed the Sanctuary.

"The transepts which lie on each side of this, about the cross line, are of equal length, but that part of the upright line towards the setting sun is built so much longer than the other part as to form the figure of a cross.

"That part of the roof which is above the sanctuary is constructed like the middle part of Sta Sophia, except that it yields to it in size, for the four arches are suspended and connected with one another in the same fashion; the circular building standing above them is pierced with windows, and the splendid dome which over-arches it seems to be suspended in the air. In this manner the middle of the roof is built, but the roof over the four limbs of the church is constructed of the same size as that which I have described over the middle, with this exception, that the walls underneath the spherical part is not pierced with windows."

This cruciform basilica of St Mark's was enlarged by degrees. First of all (c. 1150-1200) the baptistery on the south, and the atrium which extends along the west and north sides of the nave, were added. Next, chapels were built north and south of the transepts. That of St Isidore

on the north dates from 1354, and was due to the Doge Andrea Dandolo.

In the fifteenth century a sacristy at the east end was added, the altar of St Peter in the northern apse being removed to make a passage to it. Another way to the sacristy for the use of the clergy was cut through the massive wall of the main apse; but with these exceptions St Mark's has come down to our own day marvellously little injured by Renaissance accretions. In fact, during the long period from its dedication in 1085 till the overthrow of the Venetian Republic by Napoleon, every Doge's reign saw some additions to the rich decoration of the church in mosaic, sculpture, wall-lining or columns of precious marbles.

By degrees the whole walls, inside and outside, were completely faced, either with glass mosaics on gold grounds, or with precious marbles and porphyries, plain white marble being used only for sculpture and then thickly covered with gold.

Speaking roughly, the plan of St Mark's is a group of five square spaces covered each by its pendentive dome. The peculiarity of the structure lies in its breadth of wagon vaults which support and separate these domes, which is so great that the vast piers which sustain them are pierced in two stories, and divide each other into four piers with a vaulted space between them. Each dome is consequently the centre of a cruciform space, the wings of which have wagon vaults. The only exception is the east end, where an apse is substituted for this space, and out of this apse spring three minor ones, as at Sta Sophia.

Each dome is about hemispherical above its pendentive and is pierced with windows, as in the Constantinopolitan example. The domes are now, and have been for many

ages, covered over by rather tall domical towers of timber, each surmounted by a sort of turret on its apex. The wings which flanked each domed space, bounded as they were by the perforated piers, were so suggestive of side aisles that the builders, familiar no doubt with aisled churches, added arcades from pier to pier both in nave and transepts. These, however, are merely decorative, supporting no galleries, as is frequent in the east, and only serving as narrow communications, equivalent to triforium passages, between the upper chambers in the great piers.

At Sta Sophia, which, since the loss of the Apostles' Church at Constantinople, we must take as our model for St Mark's, we find a building domed throughout, but there is no attempt here to make the dome an external feature of the building. The adoption of curved lines throughout both plan and elevation invests Sta Sophia with a completeness of effect as a domed structure which cannot be claimed for buildings which adopt a dome as they might any other form of roof for covering a part only of the interior. At Sta Sophia there is no sort of incongruity—no square or rectangular nave or transepts roofed over by curved forms. Curvature is of the essence of the plan, and we see at once that a domical completion is the most obvious and natural method to be adopted. The eye passes with pleasure from the walls to the roof. Niche-like recesses lead to semi-domes, and these carry the interest upwards till it culminates in the great central cupola, the whole forming one of the most beautiful works of domical architecture in the world.

At St Mark's the domes are more numerous, though hardly so successful; indeed, in comparison with their gorgeous mosaic covering, their architecture is but little

thought of. In this respect the contrast with Sta Sophia is very great, for in the latter case the mosaics have been obscured by its Mohammedan possessors. Had such a barbarism been committed in St Mark's, there would be found little in it to command our admiration. The congruity between plan and section, of which Sta Sophia is so striking an example, is here wanting, while the minor domes act rather as foils to the central cupola than accessories leading up to and enhancing the effect of the chief feature of the design.

It is worthy of remark, however, that at Venice we find an essential difference of external treatment. Hitherto the dome had been the actual crown of the building. The interior surface formed the ceiling of the church, while the exterior was a visible roof to resist the weather. At St Mark's the domes have become mere ceilings constructed at a lower level than the exterior leads us to expect, and covered with lofty roofs having no relation to the forms beneath them. This was the method of the Gothic architects of Northern Europe, though they did not adopt the fantastic shapes we see at Venice. The groining in our own Gothic cathedrals is not the roof, in the sense that the dome of the Pantheon at Rome is the roof of that building. Such groining requires to be protected by an outer roof of woodwork covered with lead or other weather-resisting material.

Reference to a sectional view of St Mark's in the *Chiese Principale di Europa* will afford an excellent idea of the domical construction of the Venetian Cathedral.

Externally St Mark's affords a striking example of how little of success in effect is dependent upon scale alone in monumental architecture; for we see here a nobly realized

character of grandeur, power and solemnity, whilst its proportions are far from such as to entitle the building to rank among churches extraordinary for size in Italy or Europe. Its length from the chief portal to the altar of the Holy Sacrament is 220 feet; the width of the façade is 152 feet; the height without the pinnacles is 65 feet, and the breadth at the transepts 180 feet.

The façade opens upon the Piazza San Marco in a series of deep, round-arched recesses, with vaults resting upon a forest of slender columns, their shafts of many-hued marbles in two orders. Above, forming the highest story, is a corresponding series of round-arched gables crowned by delicate finials and pinnacles with canopied niches, and a later addition of Gothic character that supplies a graceful sky-line to this resplendent front all radiant with coloured marbles, gilding and fields of mosaic.

Along the entire middle extends an atrium, into which has been incorporated the richly decorated baptistery with mosaic-encrusted vault, perhaps the earliest instance of the edifice appropriated to such sacramental purposes not apart or separated from the church it pertains to, as were all Italian baptisteries during the first nine centuries; and it is probable that modifications in the administration of the rites had been the proximate cause of such changes.*

The marbles and chiselled details of St Mark's are believed to be, in great part, from the ruins of certain cities of Asia Minor and Sicily, and such use of fragments, from some of these cities at least, is attested in the fact that a species of well-formed brick, much employed in medieval Venice, were called by masons "antinelle," from Altinum, one of the abandoned cities.

* See chapter on "Ravenna," pp. 216 et seq.

Both the inner and outer bronze portals are among the earliest extant specimens of Italian and Greek metallurgy, inlaid with figures of saints in different metals, two having Latin and one a Greek inscription; the portal so distinguished as Byzantine being that said to have been taken from Sta Sophia in the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.

From so early as the period of Charlemagne it had been ordered that in all the provinces and chief cities of Italy "aurifices" and "argentarii" should be established; and the practice of the goldsmith's art at Venice in the twelfth century is attested by two documents of 1123 and 1190, including objects of its produce among items bequeathed by last wills.

The Venetian sculpture of this remote medieval period is exemplified in the monuments, now in the atrium of St Mark's, to the Doge Vitale Faliero (1096), to the Dogaressa Felicita Michel (1111), and to the Doge Maria Morosini (1253), the latter adorned with rude reliefs of the Saviour amidst the twelve apostles and the Virgin Mary amidst twelve angels all holding censers.

In the richly carved capitals every style from the fourth to the twelfth century is represented, many of them being marvels of delicacy combined with a rare spirit of execution. Some of the larger capitals are partially covered with a rich basket-work completely undercut with great technical skill; others have vine or acanthus foliage treated with vigorous realism; and a large number have either the revived Byzantine treatment of the Classic Corinthian, or Ionic capitals with variations, evincing the utmost power of invention and originality.

In addition to the elaborate sculpture, some of the capi-

tals are decorated with inlaid patterns; and many of the mouldings, such as the capping of the triforium screen, are also ornamented in the same way. This use of inlay is almost peculiar to St Mark's, as is also the method of encircling sculptural reliefs with backgrounds of brilliant gold and coloured glass mosaics, producing an effect of extraordinary richness.

Pre-eminent in the wealth of pictorial and gorgeous decoration, St Mark's inspires, at first sight, like an enchanted fabric which imagination might regard as being raised by the wand of a magician from the tributary sea.

"Being come into the church," says Evelyn, "you see nothing, and tread on nothing, but what is precious." Or, as the author of *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages* more scientifically put it two hundred years later: "The colour is so magnificent that one troubles oneself but little about the architecture and thinks only upon the expanse of gold and deep rich colour, all harmonized together into one glorious whole, so that all architectural lines of moulding and the like are entirely lost, and nothing but a soft, swelling and undulating sea of colour is perceived."

In truth the interior of St Mark's resembles a casket of jewels, comprising every species of workmanship among its gorgeous contents.

No European cathedral can compare with that of Venice. The effect is surprising and even magical. The first impression conveyed is that of a cavern of gold encrusted with precious stones which are at once splendid and sombre, sparkling and mysterious. Cupolas, vaults, architraves and walls are carved with little cubes of gilt capitals, of unique form, among which the rays of light sparkle like the scales of a fish. Where the gold ground terminates at the height

of the columns, commences a clothing of the most precious varied marbles, prophyries and alabaster, relieved by pure white marble, sculptured in panels, string-courses and the like. The various marbles are arranged in broad upright bands, alternating so that one colour enhances the effect of the one next to it.

For example, the nave wall in the north aisle is faced thus, (1) Verde antico, (2) Proconnesian, (3) red broccatello of Verona, (4) Proconnesian, (5) magnificent Oriental alabaster, (6) Proconnesian, (7) verde antico; below these is a narrow band of red Verona marble, and then a plinth moulding of white Athenian marble, which rests on the seat of panelled red marble that runs all round the interior of the nave and transepts. The large columns between the brick piers, six in the nave and eight in the transepts, are monoliths of fine Proconnesian marble, veined with greyish blue and amber, and the great brick piers are faced with thin slabs of the same material. This facing, and most of that throughout the church, are made of ancient columns sawn into slices.

No less than five hundred columns of porphyry and costly marbles are used to decorate the church, especially on the west front. Some of those inside the atrium have no constructional use, but are only set against the wall for the sake of their beauty and value.

"On entering the basilica, the first impression received of its mosaic decoration is similar to that made upon us when we turn at random over the pages of a New Testament without stopping to read any particular part. Christ meets the eye in every place. Not such a Christ, however, as is commonly exhibited throughout Italy—either a helpless babe in His Mother's arms, or a dead man on a cross, but the God Man,



Venice: Interior of St. Mark's looking East.

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Christ Jesus, in the plenitude of His power, 'in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.'

"The words of Ruskin are almost literally true: 'Every dome and hollow of its roof has the figure of Christ in the utmost height of it, raised in power, or coming in judgement.' The same gloriously majestic figure dominates the building from apse to pilaster, from pillared porch and broad expanse of wall. *Christ; Christ conquers; Christ reigns; Christ rules;* is proclaimed in the cupolas, and echoes round the vaults and galleries of the whole structure. We are reminded of the manner in which the Evangelist, omitting all mention of our Lord's birth and infancy, plunges *in medias res* in accordance with his intention to set forth in his Gospel Christ as 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah,' and in observance of the limits laid down by St Peter as to the extent of the apostolic testimony which was to be 'from the baptism of John, unto the same day that He was taken up from us.'

"In short, what strikes the beholder on contemplating the St Mark's mosaics is the absolute supremacy and sovereignty accorded to our Lord. Thus on entering the chapel of St Isidore* it is not the form of the martyr that first catches the eye, but that of our Lord enthroned on the east wall above the altar."†

The iconography of St Mark's is briefly thus: On the vault over the western gallery is a subject from the Book of Revelation.

In the nave dome is the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.

*So called from its enshrining the body of that saint, the martyr of Chios, who was killed by the Emperor Decius in 250, and which was brought from that island (the reputed birthplace of Homer) in 1125 by the Doge Domenico Michiel. †Robertson.

Tongues of fire radiate upon colossal figures of apostles, and below them on the drum of the dome is a second series of figures representing various nations of the world who were converted by the inspired teaching of the apostles.

From the unfenestrated marble walls of the dim north and south aisles of the nave ten stately figures framed in gold gleam forth, five on either hand. The central figure on the north side is that of a youthful Christ, with cruciferous nimbus, and in a robe of gold against a star-spangled blue ground. On either hand are the prophets, Hosea, Joel, Micah and Jeremiah, holding scrolls on which are inscribed the following sentences foretelling the Incarnation of our Lord:

Hosea. "Quasi diluculum præparatus est, egressus ejus, et venit quasi imber nobis temporaneus et serotinus terræ" (Hosea vi, 3).

Joel. "Similis ei non fuit a principio, et post eum non erit, usque in annos generationis et generationis" (Joel ii, 2).

Micah. "Ecce Dominus egredietur de loco suo, et descendit et calcabit super excelsa terræ" (Micah i, 3).

Jeremiah. "Post hæc in terris visus est, et cum hominibus conversatus est" (Baruch iii, 38).

The central figure of the five on the wall of the south aisle is that of the Blessed Virgin standing between Isaiah and David, Solomon and Ezekiel, each of whom bears a scroll, with the following appropriate legends:

Isaiah. "Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur Emanuel" (Isaiah viii, 14).

David. "De fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem meam" (Ps. cxxxii, 11).

Solomon. "Quæ est quæ ascendit quasi aurora consurgens" (Cant. vi, 10).

Ezekiel. "Porta hæc, quam vides, clausa erit et non aperietur" (Ezekiel xliv, 2).

The great dome above the crossing represents the Ascension, with bands of large figures of the Apostles and below them the Virtues.

The choir dome has a grand half-figure of our Lord and a series of prophets. The half-dome across the high altar bears, of course, the Majesty.

The transept domes have various saints and doctors of the Church, all with explanatory descriptions. The whole of the rest of the walls and vaults are covered with mosaic pictures, of which a mere catalogue would occupy many pages.

In the atrium, which extends along the western and northern sides of the nave, the mosaics represent the history of the world from the Creation to the Deliverance of the Children of Israel.

In the baptistery, which corresponds to the atrium in the north, are the life of St John the Baptist and scenes from the life of Christ. On the first dome (westwards) is the Majesty over a series of baptismal scenes and Greek doctors; on the second dome is Christ adored by angels.

In the barrel-vault of St Isidore's Chapel, which lies along the north wall of the north transept, is a very fine series of mosaics representing passages from the life of that saint and other subjects executed about the middle of the fourteenth century, soon after the completion of the chapel.

To the succeeding century may be assigned the decoration of the sacristy, while in other parts are mosaics of a still later date, some from cartoons by Tintoretto and other Venetian painters of the decadence.

These are not designed with any real sense of the special

necessities of mosaic work, and are all very inferior in decorative effect to the simple Byzantine style of those executed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

In subject many of the early mosaics in St Mark's are scarcely intelligible without a key. Those of the history of the Virgin in a chapel off the north transept by Michele Giambane, 1430, are among the finest.

Most of them have been subjected to centuries of restoration. In the style of the most antique are analogies with the Sicilian mosaic school; and good judges conclude that many are of the eleventh century by artists whose education had probably been Byzantine, whatever their birth. Occupying as they do the entire golden field of vaults and cupolas, seen in the dim religious light that alone pervades this shadowy interior, their effect is solemnizing beyond description, and technical deficiencies are forgotten in the grandeur of the whole.

To this real and essential decoration the architecture of St Mark's is entirely subordinate. Though incontestably of the primitive ages of art, when the means of expression were yet imperfect, these mosaics have more than those decorative qualities of colour and design which are often found in semi-barbarous work. They have a special beauty of their own which is matchless; they are as unique as the incomparable capitals of the arcades of the Doge's Palace.

Absolutely unique in variety, wealth and preciousness, the decoration of St Mark's embodies and expresses the religion and throws light on the policy of a great commonwealth that, throughout long centuries, held the place intellectually and commercially amongst the nations of the world that England holds to-day. There is a theory that the undulating pavement of St Mark's was intended as a sym-

bol of the sea waves, but waves were by no means characteristic of the lagoons.

In numerous places the pavement tiles had been cracked, and some of the pieces were missing. These fractures and other irregularities must have proceeded from the sinking of the foundations, which were largely composed of beams of wood driven hundreds of years ago into the shallows and mud over which the city is built.* The spaces between the inlets now covered over with streets and squares, palaces and churches, were undoubtedly first filled with artificial foundations placed on countless thousands of piles. Such is the substructure of the railway which now carries the traveller into Venice, stretching for more than three miles across the lagoons. In confirmation of this it should be mentioned that the pavement of other Venetian churches are as far from being even as that of St Mark's.

The choir, which is raised about four feet above the nave, is separated from it by a marble rood-screen formed of ancient columns bearing a straight architrave surmounted by fourteen statues, viz., of St Mark, the Blessed Virgin and the twelve Apostles.

This screen, which constitutes one of the most remarkable architectural features of the interior and extends across the aisles, forming a north apsidal chapel of St Peter and a southern one of St Clement, is signed as the work of the Venetians Jacobello and Pietro Paolo, sons of Antonio delle Masegna, 1394-1397. The rood itself, signed "Jacobus Ma-

*The tide ebbs and flows under the floor of St Mark's, so that a boat might come up under the great dome if a canal were cut from the lagoon; and the undulating floor, which some people regard as a beautiful feature of the design, is only the evidence and the consequence of the upward thrust of the piers of the old church underneath, which prevents certain parts of the pavement sinking as fast as the rest.

gistri Marci Benato de Venatico," is singular from the loading of the cross with other figures besides the Divine sufferer—St Mark, the four Evangelists and the four Latin doctors.

But the silver workmanship of this crucifix and of the seven figures on either side of it is of no high excellence. It may be observed, in the prominence of this rood-loft, impeding to a great degree the view of the high altar and the choir, a proof by inference that nothing like the Benediction rite of more modern origin could have been contemplated among the special appropriations of that altar by those who built the church before us.

The rood-screen or jube, such as we know it in England, Belgium and Northern Germany, and which until the vicious era of Louis Quinze formed so magnificent a feature in the interior of almost every great French church, is a *rara avis* in Italy. Doubtless the Italian churches of cathedral and conventual rank possessed rood-screens from the fact that they exist, at Torcello, at St Mark's, and the Frari at Venice, in the Cathedral and Church of St Fermo at Verona, and in the early Renaissance church of St Maurizio at Milan—an interesting and valuable example of a very high close screen reaching almost to the roof.

It appears to me, from the numerous cathedrals and churches which I inspected last summer, from Venice and Ravenna in the north-east to Milan and Vercelli in the north-west, that subsequently to the Renaissance of the classical, when so many medieval church choirs were either rebuilt or remodelled, a compromise was effected by joining the high altar to the wall on either side by wings, pierced with doorways, after the fashion of the so-called St Cuthbert's screen in our St Albans Cathedral.



Venice: Interior of Sta. Maria dei Frari.

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In front of the rood at St Mark's stand two very large ambons or pulpits, one of porphyry, the other *verde antico*.

In the northern ambon is a lofty patriarch's throne under a metal domed canopy, curiously like a pulpit in a Moslem mosque.

Within the screen several rows of open benches are arranged, where the service—the daily Chapter or Canons' Mass—might be heard quietly but for the constant ingress and egress of commonplace Baedeker-bearing tourists, whose peculiar mode of comporting themselves as if they were feudal lords coming in amongst superstitious serfs must impose a great strain upon the courtesy of the clergy and the forbearance of others who, like myself, were present to worship and not to stare about.

The music was solemn and devotional, and except that the vestments worn by the celebrant and his assistant ministers were of the customary board-like modern Italian shape, the ceremonial at St Mark's on this morning of my visit left nothing to be desired.

I may here take the opportunity of reminding the reader that this most celebrated and beautiful of sanctuaries on the Adriatic shores was originally built as simply a ducal chapel contiguous to the sovereign magistrate's residence; and that it was not until 1807 that it became the Cathedral of Venice through the transfer of the patriarchal chair from St Pietro di Castello, the episcopal church of earlier origin, but quite jejune ecclesiologically with the exception of a fine mid-fifteenth-century companile.

Among the makers of music who have shed a lustre upon St Mark's must be named Giovanni Croce and Agostino Steffani. The former, born at Chioggia in 1560, became vice-chapelmaster in 1603, holding the post until his

death six years later. Croce was a somewhat prolific composer of motets and psalms, which latter were reprinted in London. His music, smoothly written and agreeable to modern ears, first became familiarized in England by the Motet Choir under Thomas Helmore during the 'fifties of the last century, and a madrigal for six voices, *Hard by the Crystal Fountain*, is given in *The Triumphs of Oriana* as his composition.

Steffani, born at Castelfranco, near Venice, in 1655, was a chorister of St Mark's in his youth, but remained there only two years; for a German nobleman, struck by his voice and appearance, procured his discharge, and took him to Bavaria, where he bestowed on him a most complete education, the musical part of which was entrusted to Ercole Bernabei, chapelmaster to the Elector of Bavaria. His reputation became so great that his compositions were sought by all, among his admirers being the husband of the Electress Sophia, who invited him to Hanover, made him director of his chamber music, and committed to him the management of the Italian opera.

At the proper age Steffani took orders, and soon became entitled to the appellation of *Abbate*, by which he ought always to be distinguished.

His early compositions were for the Church, two of the most admired being a trio, *Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous*, given by Stevens in his collection of sacred music, and a motet for five voices, *Qui diligit Mariam*, which is generally considered as one of the finest of his efforts, its principal characteristics being a grandeur and severity of style in the melodies, profound science in the harmonies, and masterly skill in the construction of the most ingenious and elaborate counterpoint.

Steffani was not only a musician but a statesman. He had a considerable share in concerting with the courts of Vienna and Ratisbon the scheme for erecting the duchy of Brunswick-Lunenburg into an electorate, for which service the Elector assigned him a handsome pension, and Pope Innocent XI gave him the Bishopric of Spiga. In consequence of this he no longer put his name to his compositions, but adopted that of his secretary, Gregorio Piva, and in 1708 relinquished his appointments in Hanover in favour of the afterwards great Handel, who professed to imitate his duettos for two voices with a bass accompaniment in his twelve celebrated *Duetti di Camera*, which he composed for Queen Caroline. In 1724 the Academy of Ancient Music in London elected him their president, and five years later he died at Frankfort.

Another composer in connexion with St Mark's, though now almost forgotten save as a name in musical history, was Antonio Lotti. A chorister of the Ducal Chapel, he became second organist in 1692 and first organist in 1704, holding the post for nearly forty years. He was a prolific composer of ecclesiastical and operatic music, but is now hardly remembered in England save by his charming air, *Pur di cesti, O bocca bella.*

The ciborium of the high altar, a work of the eleventh century, is supported on marble columns, encrusted with high relief groups of minute subjects from Old and New Testament history, with explanatory Latin epigraphs on bands that encircle their shafts at intervals.

These sculptures are more curious than beautiful; they are Greek in style, and are supposed by Cicognara to have been executed at Constantinople by order from Venice about the close of the tenth or in the course of the next

century. Under the *mensa* of this altar, which was renewed in porphyry and rich marbles in 1834, the relics of St Mark, discovered after ages of oblivion in 1811, were re-enshrined with great solemnity on August 26, 1835.

The eastern crypt, or confessio, extends under the whole of the choir behind the rood-screen, and has three apses like the upper church. The body of St Mark was originally placed here, but is now within the high altar of the upper church. Below the nave is an older crypt, the existence of which was only discovered towards the latter part of the last century; it is not accessible, having been filled in with earth and rubbish at a very early period.

The still richly endowed, though often despoiled, treasury of St Mark's contains three relics, each as revered as it is precious.*

One of these is the original autograph of St Mark's Gospel, set in a case, on one of whose sides is a medieval relief in gold of the Delivery of the Keys to St Peter. It consists, however, of nothing more than two pages of papyrus, now torn into fragments, in which, when permitted to inspect, I found it just possible to distinguish Greek letters, but neither verse nor sentence recognizable as by that Evangelist.

For the marble chair which is said to be the identical episcopal throne of St Mark, no higher date than the tenth or eleventh century can be claimed. It is traditionally believed to have found its way hither after being presented by the Emperor Heraclius to the Patriarch of Grado; but

* In the *Guardian* of November 7, 1906, is an interesting detailed account of some of the thirty Byzantine chalices preserved in the treasury of St Mark's; most of them are believed by Mr F. Hamilton Jackson, the writer of the article, to have formed part of the spoils of the sack of Constantinople in 1204.

the character of the reliefs adorning it—the Evangelistic emblems, each six-winged; the Lamb on the mystic mount, with the four rivers; SS. Peter and Paul; and the Cross between candelabra—indicate a much later period.

But perhaps the greatest treasure of St Mark's is the superb altar pallium (Palla d' Oro) only to be seen upon the high altar on certain great days.* Executed at Constantinople by order of the Doge Pietro Orseolo in 976, or at least begun in that year, but not brought to Venice (as supposed) till 1102, it stands before us, a work added to and embellished by order of successive Doges in 1105, 1209 and 1345. It is eleven feet long by seven feet broad, the lower portion being twice the breadth of the upper, and is wrought in laminas of gold, encrusted with groups and figures in low relief, the general design of the upper part being a central quatrefoil between six round arches on pillarets, and of the lower part a circle surrounded by four small circles within a square, with, on either side, three tiers of six arcades bearing figures. It contains about 30lb. weight of gold, nearly ten times that weight in silver, and is set with over 2000 pearls and precious stones. Unfortunately the latter have no great value, the originals having fallen a prey to the invader at the fall of the Republic, the *Palla* itself only escaping the melting pot because its value was not known. It is not unlikely that this precious shrine destined for the Evangelist's relics, divided as it is into panels made to fold horizontally, was to have been placed above the mensa of the high altar, but not intended to be used, as it now occasionally is, for encasing the sides. A lengthy inspection of

* It was apparently on the altar at the time the accompanying view of the interior was taken. With the aid of a magnifying glass some of its details may be seen.

this Palla d' Oro enabled me to recognize in it the strongly marked characteristics of the Byzantine school in all its rigid mannerism, studied asceticism and overloading of gorgeous ornaments. On the central panel of the front is represented our Lord enthroned and in act of blessing. His countenance is of the Greek type, dark, sullen and severe; in His left hand the Gospels gorgeously bound and set with twenty-four gems; the nimbus and the supporters of the throne are likewise profusely jewelled. On either side are the Evangelists, each seated at a desk, each nimbus defined in pearls; and below the throne is St Mary in attitude of prayer, the arms outspread, and supported on either side by the Doge Giustiniano Participazio and a regal lady, probably the Empress Irene. The other larger figures are: the twelve Apostles, prophets and saints of the Old Law, and white-robed angels in adoration.

Among the smaller compositions are scenes from the life of St Mark and the translation of his relics, including their arrival and pompous reception at Venice. A cornice presents us with a series of miniature designs hardly distinguishable except in the central subject, the Virgin and Child. The form of the Divine Infant is entirely covered with jewels. Then there are several bust-reliefs, their interstices filled with graceful flowery borders, showing how eminent was the skill of the Byzantine artist in *this*, whilst his school stood so low in other departments. The effeminate Greek treatment of the figures and costumes of Old Testament personages is curiously marked; and it may be worth while to consider the immeasurable distance of idea between the Moses, here noticeable for a certain girlish prettiness, and the colossal statue of the Lawgiver by Michael Angelo at Rome.

Poetic and wondrously effective as is the whole of St

Mark's, its claims as a Christian type in architecture are open to question. It resembles a casket of jewels comprising every species of workmanship among its gorgeous contents; its overloaded details divert from what is essential in the sacred edifice, the spiritual intent and heavenly dedication. Many of the antique ornaments set in its outer walls are indeed quite foreign to the religious character, and, like the necklace on the classic idol, serve but to deck the form, not enhance the beauty of the art-work; and even the celebrated horses of gilt brass, brought from the Hippodrome at Constantinople among the spoils apportioned to the Venetians on the taking of that city by the Crusaders, are quite unsuitable, however imposing in their conspicuous place over the central portals.

Of all the numberless details that trench upon the attention, the statues, the columns, the mosaics, the rare marbles which line the walls or cover the domes and pavements, there is hardly one that has not its value and significance, either in itself or in its past history. Such a church cannot be conquered without time. It must be visited again and again, and slowly and patiently studied.

As I dreamt there under almost every condition of light, how many shadows from the past arose and filled this "dim and mighty minster of old time" with their historic forms! I thought of the stern crusaders swearing on the banner of the cross before setting out for the Holy Land; of the bronzed warriors who bore the standard of the old Queen of the Adriatic far through the glowing East, and who brought their spoils and riches to lay them at the feet of their patron and protector; of the mighty Doges, whose names recall all that Venice was in the plenitude of her power, and whose blazoned shields once hung on the marble walls; I

pictured them slowly pacing these shadowy vistas in their robes of state; of ambassadors from distant lands, and Popes, in the plenitude of their pomp and power, bending in homage at the shrine of the Republic's chosen saint.

I thought of those nameless multitudes whom history calls "the people"; that people whose love for St Mark's was based on and inspired by a love for their country and its greatness; a people who loved freedom as their own sea waves, and who saw in the old basilica not merely the expression of a religious creed, but the palladium of their cherished liberty, the inviolable temple of their God, and the Holy Ark of their own beloved State.



Bologna: Interior of SS. Pietro e Paolo (in St. Stefano).

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CHAPTER VII

Ferrara and Bologna

THE western façade of the Cathedral at Ferrara, the glory of the old States of the Church, and the fittest save one in Italy—that of St Lorenzo at Genoa—to rival the front of a French church, is to the Italian what the west front of Rheims is to a Frenchman, or that of Wells to an Englishman.

Entirely different in outline from the generally adopted simple one with its broad low gable, its western doors, its buttresses in the form of attached shafts sometimes supporting nothing, and its rose window surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, this façade of the Duomo at Ferrara, which might vie even with that of a northern church in beauty, intricacy and richness of character, is nevertheless an entirely shamelessly false one, which the less ornate ones are honourably not.

Dating from the middle of the twelfth century, and built of pale yellow marble, to which, in certain parts, a rose-coloured one lends an additional charm, it is divided into three nearly equal compartments. Each of these divisions, which are gabled, rises in four stages, wherein it is interesting to trace the gradual growth of Gothic purity and richness as they ascend. The central compartment is occupied by a slightly projecting porch, whose inner doorway of the richest and most exuberant late Romanesque architecture bears in its lintel eight sculptured scenes from the life of the Virgin, and its tympanum a "St George and the Dragon,"

reminding us that our royal family have sprung from the same stock as the D'Estes, once lords of Ferrara. Over this porch the genius of Niccola Pisano raised a pronaos, which in its early thirteenth-century Gothic purity is probably without a rival in these Northern parts of Italy. In the central arcade the subdividing shaft gives place to the same artist's world-famed statue of the Madonna, on either side of which a lamp is kept burning with solemn effect all through the night. The whole of the pronaos above these graceful open arcades with the varied mouldings and boldly foliaged capitals of their shafts, and the quatrefoils pierced plate tracery-wise in their tympana, is occupied by a representation of the Last Judgement, spread, however, in too unsystematic a manner to bear comparison either with the French examples or with the sculpture on the west front of Orvieto Cathedral, which is not only beautiful in its position, but beautiful also to a high degree in all its detail of design and execution. At Ferrara the gable of the pronaos is occupied by the Majesty seated within a vesica and supported on either side by two saints, while following the line of the gable is a guipure band of sculpture, which on examination will be found to consist of a number of half figures, dominated at the apex of the gable by two angels who hold a crown over the seated figure of our Lord. In the frieze below, the blessed are seen being conducted into the presence of the Father, and the accursed into the place of torment, which is here represented with all that hideous and terrible realism which the medieval sculptors knew so well how to depict. I believe I am right in asserting that there are no representations of the Resurrection and Last Judgement together of earlier date than the year 1000. The explanation appears to be that prior to that year there

was a deep and widespread feeling in the minds of people that the end of the world would come in 1000; but when the period passed without its having come, a revulsion of feeling ensued. To correct this the clergy dwelt strongly and frequently on the certainty of the last judgement in their sermons, and caused architects and artists, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to place representations in the most conspicuous situations in churches; hence they are sculptured over the principal doorways or on the western façade, as at Amiens, Autun, Bourges, Chartres, Paris, Lincoln and elsewhere; painted upon the glass of the great east window as at Fairford, or combined with the Radix Jesse as at Selby, and formerly no doubt at Carlisle; or painted on the plastered wall above the chancel arch, as in Holy Trinity Church, Coventry, Lutterworth, Bedford near Hounslow, Slymbridge, St Thomas's, Salisbury, and elsewhere.

Of Italian Gothic sculpture, which would admit of much praise of the highest kind, the greatest school is that of the Pisani. Besides the exquisite piece of work over the porch at Ferrara we owe to them the unsurpassed sculpture of the front of Orvieto Cathedral, as we do also the fine pulpits of Siena, Pisa and St Andrea at Pistoja, the idea of which, it is only fair to say, was not theirs, but derived from a certain Guido de Como, who in A.D. 1250 executed a fine sculptured pulpit in the church of St Bartolommeo at Pistoja. But whilst none, or at any rate very little, of this figure sculpture, either in execution or in the elaborate telling of its story, surpasses the best thirteenth-century French work, it is remarkable that the sculpture of foliage is comparatively rare, and seldom good or at all architectural in character when it does occur.

The cause of this would open up a very interesting investigation. Perhaps it was the continued recollection of the antique, which in our own time has produced the same results, which hampered the Italian artists; but however it is, we see nothing in the purely Gothic sculpture of Italy at all worthy of comparison with the exquisite works of the Byzantine artists in St Mark's, Venice, and at Torcello, or with the contemporaneous work of the Northern sculptors, who in Paris, Chartres, Bourges, Rouen, Nuremburg, Bamberg, Freiburg in Saxony, Lincoln and Wells, were devising for us such perfect embodiments of the best architectural sculpture, founded *properly* on nature, as it would seem impossible ever to excel.

In Italy sculpture of figures was introduced in a much less general way than might have been expected. There are no examples of anything like the great French portals covered with a profusion of sculpture on a grand scale. Here it is often introduced in a succession of very small medallions scattered about the façade, as, for example, in that at Modena, but the delicacy and tenderness of sentiment exhibited in such works as this, and in the doorways of the Baptistery at Parma, only make us regret that this species of ornamention was not made use of on a more impressive scale by the Italian architects.

Quitting Venice in the afternoon, darkness had fallen ere I drove into Ferrara through the pleasantly umbrageous road which lies between the railway station and the somewhat melancholy old archiepiscopal city, so that when quarters had been secured at the Albergo della Stella d' Oro, fronting the great frowning red-brick mass of the Castle with its dreadful memories of that tragedy immortalized by Lord Byron in his *Parisina*, the Cathedral was closed. I



Ferrara: West front of the Cathedral.

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had, therefore, to content myself with a survey of its façade, which, looming large against the deep blue star-spangled heavens, with the lamp burning on either side of Pisano's exquisite Madonna in the pronaos, left an extraordinary impression upon me, and I retired to rest with delightful anticipations of what the interior would reveal on the morrow.

Whispers had reached me that it had been "modernized," a term which may mean anything; but my consternation may be imagined when, on drawing aside the curtain which veils the entrance to the nave from the narthex, I found myself in a building, spacious and of its kind imposing, but from which, with the exception of its font, every trace of medievalism has been ruthlessly banished.*

During a subsequent ramble about the deserted streets and grass-grown squares in remote parts of the city, I lighted upon an engraving of the interior of the Duomo, made before the work of spoliation, which extended over the century comprised between 1637 and 1737, had been commenced.

The view in question was an internal elevation of the greater part of the south side, and from it I could gather that, like most of the early Italian Gothic churches of its age—the middle of the twelfth century—Ferrara Cathedral had its several great vaulting bays subdivided into two lesser ones supporting a triforium, comprising two triple arcades under semicircular arches, and a clerestory curiously lighted by two tiers of very small round-headed windows. There would also appear to have been one of those complex multifoiled wood roofs which we still see at

* It was such structures as these that so justly excited the indignation of Pugin.

Verona in St Zeno and St Fermo, and at Padua in the great aisleless church of the Eremitani.

There is much painting in the interior of this Duomo at Ferrara. The semi-dome of the richly stalled choir, remodelled in 1499 by the Ferrarese Rosette, one of the earliest of the classical revivalists, represents the Last Judgement. It is from the brush of Bastiniano, a favourite pupil and good imitator of Michael Angelo, and has been extolled by Lanzi for its grandeur of design, the great variety of its figures, the judicious disposition of the groups, and the pleasing repose which it presents to the eye of the spectator. The rest of the mural decoration is the work of the last century, and as it has been carried out in the Raffaellesque style, steers a medium course between the archaic school on the one hand and the ultra-naturalistic on the other.

A curious but pleasant feature of the interior of Ferrara Cathedral is the manner in which the architect has broken up the great length of its nave by quasi-transepts, that is to say, in the first bay on either hand immediately on entering and also in the third bay beyond he has carried his arch above the rest, treating the roof over it dome-wise. There is in addition a larger and *bona fide* transept between the nave and the choir, whose construction, as well as that of the lesser transepts, can be studied from the exterior, where the walls are for the most part left in their original twelfth-century condition, with a series of tall, shallow arcades in continuation of the lowest tier of the west front. All above them has been modernized in the very worst and feeblest phase of pseudo-classical.

Viewed from the narthex, which runs the width of the church between the outer and inner west walls, the great



Ferrara: Details of Sculpture in West front of the Cathedral.

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length and unencumbered area of Ferrara Cathedral is undoubtedly very striking, but it is hardly one which a medievalist would revisit with much pleasure.

Those Pointed styles which awakened so many recollections, and which called forth some of the best and most holy feelings in the mind of the Englishman during the coldest and laxest days of Church discipline, had no counterpart in that of the Italian. He looked upon Gothic as an invention of the Northern barbarians, and a combination of disproportions and dissonances. Its *twilight pale* was to him the sullen gloom of Northern forests and of skies for ever clouded; its clustered pillars he regarded as mere confusion, ill-contrived bundles of stone; the apparent length appeared to him the result of narrowness and disproportion; the pointed arch, the consequence of ignorance in not knowing the art of forming a round one; the tracery of the windows, happy inventions to obstruct the light; in short, he looked upon the whole Gothic style, or *Tedesca*, as he called it, as an ill-assorted mass of incongruities, disproportions, encumbrance, confusion, darkness and intricacy; well adapted, indeed, as were the forests of Teutonland, to the gloom and horror of Druidical sacrifices and Runic incantations,

> Barbara ritu;
> Sacra Deum, structæ divis feralibus aræ,*

but very ill-calculated for the purposes of a Christian congregation, the order and decorum of its rites and the festive celebration of its mysteries.

While I was inspecting the Cathedral, the Canons were monotoning the matutinal offices in the choir by accumulation, and the sacristan was arranging the altars in the side

* Lucan.

chapels attended by an underling. From the scraps of conversation which reached my ears from time to time, ill will appeared to exist between the parties, who were accompanied by a neat white cat, the property of one of those elderly dames who may often be seen industriously plying the needle in Italian churches. Puss, who after the manner of her species evinced the greatest curiosity in the proceedings, afterwards took a stroll on her own account about the aisles, and finally walking in the stateliest manner and with tail erect up the choir, disappeared behind the high altar where the Canons' Mass was being celebrated. However, as nobody took the slightest notice, I came to the conclusion that puss was a *persona grata* with the ecclesiastics who were occupying their stalls around the apse.

Later in the day—it was the Saturday in Whitsun week—I was speeding towards Bologna, that "mother of cities," celebrated alike in arts and in letters, and presenting manifold objects of interest to the scholar and the *dilettante*. The halls which were trod by Lanfranc and Irnerius, and the ceilings which glow with the colours of Guido and the Caracci, the churches which are very numerous and represent almost every phase of Italian architecture, the palaces and the apparently interminable vistas of arcades which line the streets, can never be neglected by any to whom learning and taste are dear.

My first care on arrival was to seek out that singular congeries of seven churches grouped together under the general name of St Stefano, taking as my *point de départ* those towers of the Asinelli and Garisendi, which, inclining crosswise as if bowing to each other, form one of the most conspicuous and well-known features in the panorama of the city.

During the twelfth century, when the cities of Italy, *tutte*

piene di tirranna, were rivals in arms as afterwards in arts, watch-towers of unusual elevation were frequently erected. In Venice, in Pisa, in Cremona, in Modena and in Florence these singular structures yet remain; but none are more remarkable than the towers of the Asinelli and Garisenda families in Bologna.

The latter has been immortalized in the verse of Dante. When the poet and his guide are snatched up by the huge Antæus, the bard compares the stooping stature of the giant to the tower of the Garisendi, which, as the spectator stands at its base while the clouds are sailing from the quarter to which it inclines, seems to be falling on his head:

> As appears
> The tower of Garisenda from beneath
> Where it doth lean, if chance a passing cloud
> So sail across that opposite it hangs;
> Such then Antæus seemed, as at mine ease
> I marked him stooping.

The tower of the Asinelli rises to the height of about 310 feet, and is said to be three feet and a half out of the perpendicular.

I ascended. The evening was favourable for a view, and I could well distinguish Imola, Ferrara and Modena, as well as the hills about Verona, seeming to rise abruptly from the dead flat which extends on three sides of Bologna.

The Garisenda Tower, erected probably by the family of the Garisendi, is 160 feet in height, and inclines as much as eight feet from the perpendicular. The leaning character of these Bolognese towers is probably attributable to the carelessness or ill fortune with which their foundations were prepared, converted by the Italians into an additional proof of the skill of the architect, who was able to make a tower lean so far over its base without falling. Of architectural

design these structures possess no more than the chimney of a factory, being merely tall square brick towers with, for their sole ornament, a machicolated balcony at the top.

Thus it was that, from Garisenda's aerial height, I was enabled to locate St Stefano's without indulging in any speculative Italian on my own account; unlike Sir Gilbert Scott and Benjamin Ferrey when in quest of this church during their visit to Bologna in 1851. In his *Personal and Professional Recollections* Sir Gilbert amusingly narrates how he and the architect of St Stephen's, Rochester Row, having inquired of a benign-looking elderly gentleman the way to this singular group of buildings, were led by him silently through two or three streets, conducted into the middle of the church, shaken hands with in dumb show, and so taken leave of.

The exact *raison d'être* of this curious labyrinth of churches, most of which are of great antiquity, is hard to account for. It is a collection of buildings of all sizes and forms, the only principle of unity being, as far as I could see, that every incident of the Passion is objectively represented—on a large scale—in some one part or other of the group; so that one may go from place to place in a regular course, and so pursue the events of the Passion and merit indulgences. During the two hours which I passed in trying to unravel the architectural mysteries of these churches, persons came in and kissed pillars and crosses, with a few seconds' prayer at each, and then retired.

There can be no doubt that the site of St Stefano at Bologna is that of a pagan temple, the materials for which have been freely used in the construction of some of the buildings composing it. Antique marble columns, caps and bases, not always fitting into one another, and rarely or



Bologna: St. Stefano, from the West.

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never in their original places, are discoverable in their various parts.

The first church, that of Il Santissimo Crocifisso, appears to the right of the illustration on page 178. The second, that of St Sepolcro, stands between it and number three, which is dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. The fourth church, styled the Atrio di Pilato, is a quadrangle with a cloistered walk on two sides, and lies immediately behind St Sepolcro, beneath which is, number five, a crypt or confessionary. The sixth church, called La Madonna della Consolazione, is formed in a court, likewise cloistered, to the east of number one, and from its northern walk we enter the seventh church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

The Santissimo Crocifisso, through which the other churches are generally approached, has a very good early pointed façade, but interiorly it has been modernized and is uninteresting.

Passing through a door on its left side, and descending some steps, we enter the most interesting church of the group, the octagonal St Sepolcro, originally the baptistery either to the contiguous SS. Peter and Paul or to the Holy Trinity, from which it is separated by the Atrio di Pilato, now containing the font. Although octagonal without, St Sepolcro is dodecagonal within, the twelve round arches which separate the domed space from the surrounding aisle springing from tall circular columns, coupled in the western half of the dodecagon, and single in the eastern. One of each of the coupled columns is of marble, the others are all of red brick; indeed, very little stone is used at all, that material appearing only in the capitals of the columns, and in the little shafts of the coupled arcades which light the space above the circumambient aisle. Almost in the centre arises

a tall marble erection of early Pointed Gothic character which appears to serve a threefold purpose—as the place of sepulture of St Petronio, as a pulpit or ambon, and as the platform for the altar. The three sculptured panels in the back of this shrine within the shallow trefoiled arch represent the Resurrection. In the centre panel is the angel sitting on the empty tomb; in the left-hand panel the holy women are seen approaching the sepulchre; and in the right hand one are the guards sleeping. Beneath the figure of the seated angel is inscribed, "Quivi riposa il corpo del gloriosi S. Petronio, Vesc e protett di Bolog."—"Here rests the body of St Petronius, bishop and patron of Bologna."

Graceful pillarets, continued as a handrail to the staircase leading to the top of the shrine, encompass the altar, at which a Low Mass was being celebrated while I was in the building.

The ambon, adjoining the sepulchre on the left, looking towards the west, has very large and bold carvings of the evangelistic symbols on its northern and eastern faces. Those seen in the illustration, on the latter side, are the winged lion and the eagle emblematical of St Mark and St John; while the angel and the winged ox, which are the attributes of St Matthew and St Luke, occupy the former one.

SS. Pietro e Paolo, entered from the church just described by a door in the northern ambulatory, is a Romanesque parallel triapsidal basilica of extremely simple character, and, from the paucity of window openings, very sombre. The pillars supporting the coupled arches, and secured by iron ties and bands, are cylinders with capitals whose foliaging is a kind of cross between the Corinthian acanthus and the Gothic "stiff-leafed" forms.

One column on the south side has an Ionic capital. The



Bologna: Interior of St. Sepolcro (in St. Stefano).

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intermediate piers are remarkable masses of brick formed of four half-columns attached to a square nucleus.

In the Atrio di Pilato we find pillars of similar shape, but with plain cubical capitals forming the arcade which runs along its north and south sides, and reminding one rather of the great atrium of St Ambrose at Milan. This court opens into the three-aisled Church of the Holy Trinity, in which are some graceful columns. The altar is placed at the north end, but I suspect its original place was in one of the recesses opening out of the easternmost of the three aisles, the church being built with its longest part running from north to south.

The last of this singular congeries of buildings to which I shall allude is the large cloister adjoining the Church of the Trinity on the south and that of the Crocifisso on the east. It has four ambulatories, above each of which is an upper story such as may be seen in some German cathedrals, as, for instance, at Hildesheim and Halberstadt. The lower, and earlier, walks have very simple round arches resting generally on four slender shafts detached from each other. The upper ambulatories have a continuous arcade of deep round arches supported on delicate pillarets coupled transversely and crowned with rather elongated capitals which exhibit considerable variety in their foliaged ornament.

The wall above this arcade is built of various-coloured bricks—green, red and yellow, arranged in patterns, with no little beauty of effect. The cornice is very peculiar, being in part inlaid with pattern tiles and in part with tiles cut to a shape and set forward at an angle from the face of the wall. The whole work is of great value as an example of coloured wall decoration, which is entirely without the usual architectural mouldings.

Bologna contains two churches built respectively by the Dominican and Franciscan Orders of Friars Preachers, which were principally and essentially designed for preaching and teaching, "in order thereby to communicate to others the fruits of contemplation, and to procure the salvation of souls." For this purpose they took up their abodes in the crowded cities, where their churches were usually adapted to the accommodation of large congregations.

Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Ignatius urbes.

The naves were capacious, sometimes, as in the destroyed church of the Dominicans at Ghent, built in a single span without aisles, although no absolute rule is applicable to define the arrangement of churches of these Orders, which exhibit great diversity in the form of their plan, from that of the venerable basilica to the elegant creations of the Dominican architects of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for this Order gave a vigorous impulse to the fine arts, and scope for the exercise of the talents of eminent architects and unrivalled painters and sculptors.

Spacious as were the churches of the Friars Preachers generally, they were often far too small for the crowd of hearers, who were obliged to adjourn to the piazza for a sermon in the open air. Doubtless the designation of the preaching-yard at Norwich has reference to this fact, and also the preaching-cross in the centre of the Blackfriars cloister at Hereford. The plan of the primitive churches first granted to the Order, and continued in later times, has been but slightly modified in many churches built by the Friars Preachers in Italy. The breadth of the nave by which they were distinguished was retained or amplified, the transept when introduced was most frequently at the east end, so that the apse or

central chapel alone projected beyond it and formed the choir.* Hence it will be inferred that there were certain *provincial* peculiarities, and that while in Italy the basilica was in some degree the basis of the plans, in the French provinces the twin nave was adopted as at Toulouse, Paris and Strasburg; and such variations verify the statement that the designs of the Friars Preachers exhibit great latitude and dissimilarity; their facility in adaptation is borne out in practice in the venerable Dominican rite, which much resembles the old English use of Sarum. This was celebrated with much solemnity on the Trinity Sunday morning of my visit in their great church at Bologna, the ceremonial of the censing of the altar, when the officiating clergy passed completely round it by means of the doorways contrived in the wall connecting the reredos with the pillars of the choir, being a particularly solemn and impressive feature in the rite. Dominic de Guzman, the patriarch of the Order, was born of an illustrious family at Calarogo in Old Castile in 1170. At the age of twenty-five he joined the Canons Regular of Osma, and he was eventually chosen prior. In 1203 he conceived the idea of establishing a new Order for the defence of the faith, and in the following year set out on a pilgrimage to Rome with the Bishop of Osma. With six followers, whom he clothed in the habit of the Canons Regular, Dominic commenced the formation of the Order in Toulouse;

*The following are a few of the most remarkable churches built by the Dominican Order: St Andrew's Hall, Norwich; Notre-Dame, Louvain; the Church of the Jacobins, Toulouse, remarkable for the manner in which it is divided by a row of columns down the middle into two parts which terminate in a common apse; churches at Erfurt, Ratisbon and Strasburg; SS. Giovanni e Paolo at Venice; Sta Anastasia, Verona; Sta Maria delle Grazie, Milan; St Dominic, Prato; Sta Katerina, Pisa; Sta Maria Novella, Florence; and Sta Maria sopra Minerva, Rome.

from this lowly origin it soon made stupendous progress.

In 1216 Fulk, Bishop of Toulouse, with the consent of the Chapter, granted to Dominic three churches to which convents were added; that of St Romanus became the first monastery of the Order, and the model for later foundations elsewhere. Three days before Christmas of the same year the Order was confirmed by Pope Honorius III at the Pontifical Palace adjoining Sta Sabina.

Dominic took his departure from Rome after Easter of the following year and rejoined his brethren in Toulouse, of whom there were sixteen—eight Frenchmen, seven Spaniards and Brother Lawrence, an Englishman. These were to become the new apostles of a later age, and to be dispersed far and wide as soon as they had been assembled; the great object of the Dominican institute, in contradistinction to that of the regular clergy, being to go out two and two from town to town preaching and missionizing, and not to settle down to parochial duties. Three years had hardly elapsed after the dispersion of the brethren ere they possessed convents in France, Italy, Spain, Germany and Poland; and on Whit-Sunday, 1219, the first General Chapter of the Order was held in Bologna, where Dominic passed his latter years. Dying in 1221, a costly tomb, one of the earliest triumphs of the genius of Niccola Pisano, was placed over his remains.

The exterior of this Dominican church at Bologna, though uncouth in the mass, still retains a good deal of its Gothic beauty in the west front, the lofty chapels round the choir with their two tiers of lancet windows, and the great northern apsidal transept.

The interior, however, was so completely transformed in the eighteenth century as to have completely lost its Pointed



Bologna: The Shrine of St. Dominic.

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character, traceable now only in the plan. The Church of St John Lateran at Rome would appear to have furnished the model, evident from the ten arcades into which its enormously long nave is divided. They are alternately a round-headed and a square bay, the former rising from Ionic pilasters, the latter from circular columns of the same order. At the Lateran Church, however, the square bay is solid and filled with large canopied figures,* at Bologna it is open.

The wall space over each square-headed bay is relieved with a framed picture, otherwise the interior is devoid of colour, yet, in spite of the disappointment occasioned by finding a thirteenth-century church so completely modernized, it is impossible not to admire its grand spaciousness and the restraint which has been exercised in its furniture and decoration.

A lettered slab in the pavement of the north transept attracted my attention. Stooping down I read as follows :

Nobiles de Guidottis sibi et suis.

And this is all to mark the resting-place of the Bolognese Guido Reni, whose works, if deficient in strength and expression, are unsurpassed in grace and beauty; whose beau-ideal in respect to sacred subjects was admirable; and

*This, it should be noted, is but a modernization ; the guilt of which must rest upon the head of Borromini, who walled up the old columns of St John Lateran in huge piers, and transformed the whole interior into its present shape. Among his original designs in Rome, the Church of St Agnes in the Piazza Navona, though extravagant and faulty, has redeeming features, and is not his worst. That unenviable distinction belongs to the little Church of San Carlino at the Four Fountains, a building whose whole cubic contents are said not to equal one of the piers of St Peter's. On its puny front the outlines undulate like waves ; and columns large and small, pedestals, entablatures and balustrades, doors, windows, niches, panels and sculptures, jostle each other as if fighting for room.

whose genius is strongly attested by the celestial character so peculiarly impressed on his figures.

St Francesco, the other great church built by the Preaching Orders in Bologna, and situated a little to the west of the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, has escaped pretty well from the wholesale classicizing inflicted on St Dominico, although it suffered much during the French occupation of 1798, when it was turned into the customs-house, not being *rendue au culte* until 1847.*

This is a church of great size, built almost entirely of brick even to the piers, and in a very simple and severe early Pointed style. The nave is of surprising height, vaulted in octopartite bays. The clerestory windows are blunt lancet-headed. There is no triforium, but an arcade of broad Pointed arches springing from octagonal brick piers with caps and bases of a boldness very unusual in Italian Pointed. Without any intervention of screen, or even diminished breadth, the choir exhibits a seven-sided apse lighted as to its clerestory by very simple lancets filled with some of the best modern stained glass of my acquaintance in Italy. It has been carried out in the true early thirteenth-century style with somewhat elongated and archaically treated figures such as we see in the clerestories of Bourges and Chartres and Lyons.

The central lancet has a grandly treated Crucifixion with SS. Mary and John. Very little white glass is used in these lancets, but we do not seem to desiderate it in windows of this style. A curious feature is the small circular window placed above the lancet in each bay right up at the apex of

*Upon the expulsion of the religious orders from Italy in 1866 St Francesco was once more secularized, but was given back again to the Church twenty years later.

BOLOGNA.

EAST END OF ST. FRANCESCO.



the vaulting cell. It may be a German importation, as it occurs in the apses of St Mary at Gelnhausen, and in that of the western choir of Bamberg Cathedral. A series of very acutely pointed arches separates the choir from the procession path and series of chapels opening therefrom. According to the original design the transepts at St Francesco did not extend beyond the breadth of the aisles, but chapels had been added at their extremities in the rococo style, and a modern lady-chapel built at the east end. All these accretions have now vanished, and new Gothic work, presumably on the lines of the old, but far from satisfactory, substituted. In shape the chapels which radiate from the procession path of the apse, alternate between the apsidal and the square ended, looking as though the architect could not make up his mind which form to adopt. The general effect is most ungraceful, and cannot be compared for a moment with that of any one of the French chevets. Along the aisles chapels had been built of various dates and designs, making the exterior very varied. These have all been removed during the extensive works that are still in progress at this church since the 'forties of the last century. Externally St Francesco is remarkable for its noble flying buttresses round the choir and on the sides of its grandly clerestoried nave ; for the low pitch of its roofs; for an extremely beautiful and lofty square tower, of moulded brick, elaborately panelled in various stages at the south-east of the plan; and for its very imposing west front which is of the customary Italian screen-like character and has tombs bracketed out on its lower part, and a rich recessed door with a moulding of vines under a canopied portal. Above its round window and couple of large plain lancets a cross of stone is inserted in the gable; there is also a rich corbel-tabling imparting a

delightful finish to a mass of red brickwork which appeared to unusual advantage under the cloudless sky of a calm June evening.

The gem of the interior of St Francesco is its reredos, restored about 1845 by Professor Filippo Antolini from existing fragments.* The whole is of most delicate workmanship and carried out in white Carrara marble. Its design comprehends a broad central niche, filled with a sculpture of the Coronation of the Virgin, and supported by four niches on each side, each containing the figure of a saint.

Above the canopies of this lower range are nine smaller niches with half-figures in them. The central compartment rises higher, with another niche containing figures of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Infant, the spiry canopy of which terminates in a beautifully wrought crucifix with our Lady and the beloved Disciple standing by it.

The eight subsidiary compartments terminate in lower pinnacles, and the design is flanked by buttressed pinnacles ending in figures of angels blowing trumpets. The altar, which was renewed at the same time as the reredos, is a large slab of white marble, supported in front by four carved spiral columns of the same material. Behind the columns is a front carved in very low relief in arabesque patterns. The reredos is placed on a high marble structure which rises above the altar.

This substructure appeared to me to be over-large, having the effect of raising the reredos far too much, so that the effect of its own delicate work and its relation to the church are both spoilt.

* It was originally the work of Giacobello and Pietro della Massegne, and for which in 1388 they received 2,150 golden ducats—a very large sum in those days.



Bologna : Altarpiece in St. Francesco.

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The substructure itself is, although intended to be Pointed, almost classical in character, horizontal lines prevailing, and the panelling being somewhat wanting in depth. The criticism of this detail which I have thus been constrained to make does not make any abatement to the high praise which is due to the work as a whole. For the period of its execution it must be looked upon as a work of some importance, since it was one of the first movements in Italy towards a revival of the Pointed style.

The huge Church of St Petronio, which, from its central position, is to Bologna what the Dom is to Cologne, was commenced when the fourteenth century was drawing to its close, from the plans of Antonio Vincenzi, celebrated as one of the sixteen Reformatori and as the ambassador of the Bolognese to the Venetian Republic in 1396.

Designed to eclipse in splendour the Duomo of Florence, St Petronio was to have been a cruciform church of the most grandiose dimensions—the largest in Europe in fact. From north to south (for St Petronio does not orientate) it was to have measured nearly 800 feet; its greatest breadth, namely, at the transepts, was to have been 525 feet, and it would have covered ground to the extent of 212,000 square feet. Of this gigantic design, the six-bayed nave and its aisles, with their lateral chapels and south-east campanile, were alone completed. The transepts were just turned and the three doorways of the western façade finished. But even in this state, the dimensions of St Petronio are enormous, the actual area which it covers being 74,000 square feet. The length of the nave is 383 feet, each of the six bays dividing it from its aisles being very nearly 60 feet from one huge pier to the other, and equalling in

span the breadth of the nave. The width of the church including the chapels is 156 feet.

The first view of St Petronio, although striking, cannot be called prepossessing, owing to the mass of bare brickwork which, as at Sta Anastasia at Verona, surmounts the western portals. Ranking amongst the finest examples of the Italian Gothic, these doorways at St Petronio are covered with bas-reliefs setting forth various events of Scripture history from the Creation to the Acts of the Apostles, and are ornamented with busts of prophets and sibyls quite Raffaellesque in conception.

The central doorway and its bas-reliefs were justly considered the masterpiece of Jacopo dalla Quercia, and were entirely executed by him in grey limestone provided by the Reverenda Fabrica. Their iconography deserves the most careful study. In the centre of the arch is the Almighty surrounded by thirty-two half-figures of the patriarchs and prophets.

In the architrave are five subjects from the New Testament, and on each pilaster the same number of subjects from the Old Testament, from the Creation to the Deluge. Under the arch are statues of the Virgin and Child, St Petronius and St Ambrose.

According to Vasari, dalla Quercia devoted twelve years to this doorway, receiving 3,600 golden florins as the price of his labour.

The left-hand doorway is remarkable for the angels and sibyls round the arch, chiefly from the chisel of Tribolo, the friend of Benvenuto Cellini. Of the four subjects on the left pilaster, the first, third and fourth are by Tribolo, as well as the fourth on the right pilaster. Tribolo was assisted in these works by Seccadenari, Properzia di Rossi,

the Bolognese Sappho, and by Cioli and Solosmeo, pupils of Sansovino.

The three other subjects on the right pilaster are by Alfonso Lombardo, and represent different scenes from the Old Testament. The sculptor of the second subject on the left pilaster, Jacob giving his blessing to Isaac, is unknown; Alfonso Lombardo's "Resurrection" under the arch of this doorway is a superb piece of work, replete with simple dignity and truth, and as such highly extolled by Vasari. The taste and purity of Tribolo is further displayed in the dexter portal of this façade at St Petronio. To him are due the angels in the arch, the sibyls, the eight subjects from the Old Testament on the pilasters and the effigy of the Virgin on one side under the arch. The group of Nicodemus supporting the dead body of our Lord is by Amico, and the figure of St John the Evangelist, corresponding to Tribolo's of the Virgin, is by Ercole Seccadenari.

In the Italian Court at the South Kensington Museum is a full-size plaster model of the central doorway, and close by is a plan of this immense unfinished façade, of which the three portals above described form a comparatively insignificant portion.*

It may not be generally known that about fifty years ago a move was made in the direction of completing this gigantic work, or that Pius IX on the occasion of his last visit to Bologna—at that time (1857) the second capital of the

* In the transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects for 1870-1 is an interesting communication from Mr H. L. Florence—then travelling as Soane Medallist—respecting the designs for the completion of the west front. Forty in number, these designs are hung up in the vestry of the church. Although Italian Gothic seems to be the most applicable term to apply to most of these designs, many of them, although Gothic in general form, are yet very Renaissance in character.

States of the Church—promised a sum amounting to £13,560 in aid of the undertaking.

After the annexation of Bologna by the kingdom of Italy the municipality sought to obtain from the new government the sum promised by the Pope, but the case was decided against them on the plea that Pius had intended it as a personal, and not an official, gift. Now, however, after years of litigation, the courts have reversed the decision, declaring that the Italian Government is liable not only for the principal sum, but for a considerable amount of interest as well. But will the glorious façade of St Petronio, larger far than the majestic fronts of Orvieto and Siena, ever become an accomplished fact? £13,000 would certainly not suffice to finish a work conceived on such a magnificent scale. When, however, one remembers the completion of the west front of the Duomo at Florence after long centuries, there still seems hope that the dreams of the architect who designed that of St Petronio may one day be realized. Even in its present state—lacking as it does its transepts and choir, the latter being represented by a windowless apse hitched on to the vast nave and painted in imitation of a groin and a classic altarpiece—St Petronio is Bologna's chief glory; but only one, after all, among the priceless artistic treasures of a city which in late years has done so much in the way of architectural restoration.

Long after St Petronio was left in neglect, Bologna built her cathedral in the classic style. Why instead the citizens did not spend their money in finishing St Petronio and crown it with cathedral dignity is one of the points of Bolognese history about which the lovers of Italian Gothic may well be curious.

The sides of the church are interesting but less to be



Bologna: Central doorway of St. Petronio.

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admired, inasmuch as they exhibit some questionable features borrowed from Germany, and introduced solely for the sake of effect. I would mention, *inter alia*, the construction of a window round two sides of the angles formed by the nave and the projected transept, one half on the western and the other on the southern side, with the point of the arch curiously canopying over—if I may so speak—at the angle.

Yet, in spite of such singularities, the detail is fine. The base, of extraordinary height and grandeur, is of stone and marble; and each chapel has been finished with a steep gable cut off square at the top and lighted by a noble window, generally of four compartments mainly constructed in brick, but with shafted monials and traceries fairly executed in stone.

Here brick is used to the utmost allowable extent, the architect having wisely changed it for stone wherever the latter was the more conveniently used material.

A tall campanile, whose weight rests entirely upon the last chapel on the left, rises at the (ecclesiologically) south-east angle.

It will be remembered that St Petronio consists of the nave and aisles merely of the intended church. Following the usual Italian tradition, the architect made each of the bays of his nave square in plan, whilst those of the aisles are oblong compartments with their greatest length from east to west. Each bay of the aisles has two arches opening into the side chapels beyond the aisles, the chapels being lighted by large traceried windows of four lights and separated from the aisles by screens of marble or metal, varying in style from the most delicate Venetian Gothic in the former material to the simplest cross-framed type in the latter, but each in itself a study.

The walls, the columns, and indeed the whole internal work—save only the capitals and bases of the huge complex columns, which, when I saw them, were swathed in crimson drapery—is executed in brick, yet with a degree of severity and simplicity in detail and general design that impresses one from its air of virtuous self-restraint.

As I have remarked in the chapter introductory to this volume, we find none of those several interesting phases in Italian Pointed Gothic that are so conspicuous on this side of the Alps. We see through a part of the career of the harsh conflict of the abundant classic remains throughout the peninsula; and when it did for a short time succeed in being free, the result did not appear to advantage by the contrast, and it was soon set aside in favour of the revival of the classic.

In decorative detail, however, as it might be supposed in presence of such vast stores of conventional classic ornament, Italian Gothic did not maintain the same conflict as in the principles of construction, and throughout its career it affected ancient precedents rather than natural types; thus, the foliage of the acanthus is the general *motif* for the carvings, with the sharp or round-lobed leaf according as native or Byzantine influence predominated in the different localities.

In the vast church of St Petronio at Bologna we see all the general characteristics and also those of detail just mentioned. Vertical lines so far preponderate that there is absolutely no continuous horizontal line to be seen within the structure, which is productive of a weak, ill-connected effect. The transverse rib, the diagonal rib and the wall rib, each with edge moulds, is carried down from ridge to pavement with all the impost mouldings broken round

them, so that not even the capitals break the continuity of these vertical lines; the pier arches likewise have their edge-mouldings carried down with those of the vaulting ribs in the same compound pier.

In the church now under review, we have all the general principles of Gothic carried almost to excess, and in the windows of the chapels opening from the aisles we have Gothic details in their subdivision into couplets of two lights by mullions, arches acutely pointed and cusped, and cinquefoiled circles in the heads and a multifoiled cusped circle in the space formed by the arch spanning the two-light couplets. There are also cusped octofoiled circular windows in the upper space of the walling of both nave and aisles beneath the wall ribs of the vaulting, and the method of moulding all the edges of the vaulting ribs and arches is according to the true medieval system. Still there is in St Petronio a lack of Gothic feeling, and strong reminiscences of classical work to be seen in the great comparative breadth of the compartments, in the flat, pilaster-like form of the bearing member of the transverse rib of the vaulting, and in the section of that rib itself in the treatment of the banded imposts, which do duty as capitals at the level of the springing of the pier arches, but which are wholly different from pure Gothic capitals, and in their successive ranges of acanthus-like leaves recall the Corinthian of older days. Then, by repetition of the same class of enriched banded imposts at the springing of the vaulting ribs, the effect given is of a secondary stage of classic pilasters, placed upon, though without intervening base, the lower impost of the pier of the nave arcade.

Again, in the plain, oblong-sectioned pier of division between the aisle and the chapels, with its quasi-cornice as

imposts, and absence of edge-moulding to those arches, it is as if the architect had forgotten for the nonce the rôle he had been striving to play, and had in forgetfulness relapsed to the classic character with which he was really more familiar. There is no straining after height, no feeling of growth in the structure, no subdivision into ascending stages of arcade, triforium and clerestory, no contrast by string-courses to enhance the value of what height there is, no delicate proportioning of the several capitals to the scale of the members they have to support. But, in lieu thereof, we perceive a contentment with the breadth of the separate features which gives a painfully disconnected character to the whole. Whether St Petronio would have presented a far finer *ensemble* had the architect copied such naves as those of Paderborn and Minden cathedrals, in which both triforium and clerestory are dispensed with, I must leave others to judge.

The glories of St Petronio at Bologna are, unquestionably, its stained glass and the screens of varied style which those twenty-two chapels enclose.

The former is invested with a high interest from the very fine examples of the several periods which it presents, and its rarity; the Italians for climatic reasons generally using small windows, thus obviating the necessity of painted glass. Thus it is that we see comparatively little stained glass in Italy, the transalpine architects appearing to have thought the church walls the best vehicle for the painter to tell his story upon, knowing that the more space he left for his brush to work upon, the better his brother artist would be pleased. The art of glass painting was as favourite a one north of the Alps as mosaic and fresco painting were south of them.

The best coloured glass for painted windows in Italy,



Bologna: Interior of St. Petronio.

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called "smalti," was brought from France and Germany, and the artists who established schools of glass-painting and executed the finest works in Italy were either natives of those countries or had learnt their art in them, like the architects of the time that witnessed the erection of the gigantic fabric now under review.

At Venice and Murano scant attention appears to have been paid to the vitreous art, and the glass made there for that purpose was proverbially bad.

So much has been written of the biographies of Italian artists, that if this art had been a favourite one with them we must have heard of it.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a school of glass painting at Pisa. Many, if not all, of the windows of the Campo Santo were filled with painted glass, and the names of some of those engraved upon them are mentioned. Marchesi in his biography of the Dominican artists says a good deal about glass painters at Venice and elsewhere. Fra Bartolommeo, a monk of the Dominican Order at Perugia at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, appears to have been the first Italian glass painter of real eminence. But, as I have already said, the greatest impulse given to this art in Italy was due to men of Northern birth or education, and as the great fourlight windows in the chapels of St Petronio at Bologna are manifestly based upon a study of some in the nave of the Cathedral at Paderborn, it is not unreasonable to suppose that their vitreous decoration in the Gothic style was largely influenced by that of Germany.

The two greatest glass painters in the cinquecento period in Italy were natives, one of Germany, the other of France. The former, a native of Ulm, and known in Italy as "Gia-

como da Vlmo," was the painter of the magnificent window in this style at St Petronio. He was the founder of a great school of glass painting. He was the Beato Angelico of glass painters. Like Angelico he was a Dominican, and in his work was inspired with deep religious sentiment. He had learnt his art with his father at Ulm, and after early middle-age he joined the Dominican Order and settled at Bologna. Some of his work exists in the Dominican convent there. After death he was beatified and honoured as the Beato Giacomo. He is the Jacques l'Allemand honoured as one of the special patron saints of his old craft. To him has been very incorrectly attributed the invention of the yellow stain in glass, produced by oxide of silver. This stain, as all students of glass painting will remember, was introduced very shortly after 1500, a century before good Jacques l'Allemand saw the light.

Of the stained glass in St Petronio, perhaps the finest and most brilliant is in the fourth chapel on the ecclesiologically north, but really east side. The window is a four-light one, with tracery formed of three cusped circles. Each light has three tiers of figures representing the Apostles seated beneath canopies of a much more conventional middle-pointed character than would have been employed by a Northern artist at the date of the execution of this glass, early in the fifteenth century. The circle above each pair of lights has the Annunciation, St Gabriel occupying the sinister circle and the Blessed Virgin the dexter one, while in the top circle is our Lord in Majesty, vested in a light ruby robe and wearing a crossed stole and holding a book. The aureole is lozenge-shaped, and the field azure. The borders to the lights are specially worthy of study. Small green circles compose the groundwork of the two upper

tiers of figures, whose colours reminded me of those employed by Hardman when under the guidance of Pugin. It was eight o'clock in the morning when I made my studies of the glass in St Petronio, and the sun was pouring his full radiance through this window, casting the most lovely hues upon the pavement and frescoed walls of the chapel, but leaving Costa's delicately sculptured altarpiece, with its Majesty and Coronation of the Virgin flanked by two tiers of canopied figures, in comparative obscurity. Rarely have I seen three such exquisite specimens of the arts ancillary to architecture brought together into so small a space, or under conditions so truly magnificent.

The glazing of the windows in the fifth chapel of the same aisle is quite Renaissance. Here we have two rows of figures, very rich and deep in colouration, standing under canopies.

In the upper row two of the figures are bishops in full pontificals, two are religious in monastic habit, while the four below are in secular dress. Above the canopies the groundwork is blue. A ruby in the cope of one of the bishops is singularly fine, and the deep browns and blacks in the robes of the two monks are certainly very well managed. In the seventh chapel the Renaissance glass is less refined in tincture, besides which the full-length figures are too large for the lights in which they are placed. The Majesty and the Annunciation again occur in the circles above. There may be some reason for the repetition of this subject, but it seems at first sight to shew a poverty of invention. Crossing to the opposite aisle, we find in the Chapel of St Anthony of Padua some stained glass attributed to Michael Angelo. The circle in the head of the window has a figure of St Anthony, and that in either subarcuation,

the Annunciation, as usual. The eight saints below are under Renaissance canopies. Their draperies are bold and simple but their attitudes are forced and strained, and there is a great deal too much relief given by shading to be proper for the material. Another chapel in this aisle, the fourth counting from the west, has some good early glass. The tones of the full-length figures under silvery canopies are truly lovely. Here again the Annunciation occupies the circles above the subarcuations, but the Resurrection takes the place of the Majesty in the topmost one. In the top circle of the window in the next chapel is the figure of a bishop seated upon a white throne against a groundwork of blue, the whole being very harmonious and pleasing. In all this glass at St Petronio very little or no white is employed in the figures, but the colours are so skilfully blended that for once we do not seem to remark its absence.

The Cathedral of Bologna was rebuilt piecemeal between 1605 and 1750 on the foundations of more than one ancient edifice with the exception of its Lombardic campanile, so that it is *intus et in cute* Renaissance, though of a respectable type.

Outside it is neither better nor worse than the generality of such structures, presenting a transeptless carcase with a very tall clerestory propped up by cyclopean buttresses with tiled slopes, and a grand show front giving on to the Via Indipendenza, all carried out in brick. If not prepossessing without, Bologna Cathedral is grandiose within.

The three doorways in Torregiano's west front open into the nave, which, as may be imagined, is of abnormal breadth, carried off, however, by its commendable height. Three wide arches on Corinthian pilasters coupled transversely separate it from the aisles, which are only a series

of chapels. Between each of these arches there is, in lieu of one great pilaster, a narrower and lower arch on coupled pilasters of the Tuscan order, surmounted by a balconied gallery behind which the wall is relieved by a pedimented arch supported by Corinthian half-columns in pairs. The cornice along the entire length of the nave is richly carved with half-figures amid foliage. At the west end above the central doorway is a large square-headed window, and below it, corresponding with the Corinthian pilasters of the major arcade, two large half-columns of the same order. In the angles of the choir are two columns coupled, and of enormous girth, fluted and crowned with noble acanthus-leafed capitals profusely gilt. The western pair of columns supports an entablature from which rises a stilted arch whose broad flat soffit is frescoed between the moulded boutels.

In *ensemble* this portion of the church recalls Hawksmoor's St Mary Woolnoth, and its quadripartite vault is painted in a good Raffaellesque style such as St Paul's requires. On either side, within a low arch on Corinthian pilasters is an organ with a gallery in front of it, and above, a lunar window with bar-like tracery similar to that inserted in the choir and transept of the Frari Church at Venice.* Here is placed the sanctuary, raised on a crypt and enclosed with marble balustrades and metal gates of the most sumptuous description. Twenty steps broken up by a landing into twelve and eight conduct to the crypt which contains numerous relics and some works of art, among which are a Crucifixion and a group of the two Marys weeping over the body of our Lord, in terracotta, by Alfonzo Lombardo.

Opening from the choir into the much lower apse containing the stalls for the clergy, and lighted by four plain

*Vide illustration of the Frari Church, Venice.

square-headed windows between Corinthian pilasters, is an arch, and above it Lodovico Caracci's celebrated fresco of the Annunciation, the last work of that artist. The foot of the angel bending before the Virgin was a little crooked, and the story goes that when the aged artist made the discovery he offered to defray the expense of re-erecting the scaffold in order that he might retouch it, but the request was refused, and Lodovico died, it is said of grief on this account, a few days after. The painting on the semi-dome of the apse by Fiorini, and coloured by Aretusi, represents Christ's charge to St Peter.

I "assisted" at High Mass here on Trinity Sunday. There was no choir, the Gregorian chant being sustained by the clergy in the apse, and unaccompanied. Between each *Kyrie* and sentence of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, *Credo*, etc., the organist played a few bars of trivial music, which to ears that remembered W. H. Monk's massive accompaniment to such services as Marbeck, the *Missa de Angelis*, and that adapted from the Amiens Liturgy, at St Matthias's, Stoke Newington, was feeble in the extreme, and quite beneath the dignity of a church which contains the *cathedra* of a Cardinal Archbishop.

Many a student of ecclesiastical music starts for Italy under the impression that he will hear the sublime strains of Allegri and Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso and Vittoria in the land of their birth, but when he arrives there he will find himself woefully deceived. *Experto crede.*

Although my visit to the Land of Song extended over the whole of June, which last year embraced the great festivals of Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Corpus Christi, the Sunday within its octave, the Nativity of St John the Baptist and St Peter, spent respectively at Verona, Bologna,

Modena, Piacenza, Pavia and Turin, each containing a cathedral of the first class, the music I heard in them was of the feeblest and most trivial description.

Travel certainly expands the mind, but it destroys many a pleasant illusion.

CHAPTER VIII

Ravenna

RAVENNA, the seat of an Archbishop to whom the bishops of the Romagna were suffragan,* owes both its great historical importance in the past and its comparatively desolate appearance in the present, to the same cause —its position in an alluvial plain, formed and continually extended by the deposits brought down by a number of small and rapid streams from the neighbouring Apennines.

A glance at the north-east corner of the map of Italy will show the reader the general character of the Adriatic coast—broad lagoons, sometimes stretching far inland; flat alluvial plains intersected by endless dykes; numerous rivers (of which the Po is by far the largest and makes the most conspicuous delta) descending from the Apennines or the Alps; and outside of all a barrier of islands which have a continued tendency to become adherent to the shore through the new deposits that are brought down, and thus to be turned from islands into low hills.

This description suits Venice nearly as well as it suits Ravenna, and the chief difference between these two great historic cities is that the Ravennese lagoons are about twenty centuries older than those of Venice.

The city is now connected with the Adriatic by the Corsini Canal, the two small rivers Ronco and Montone no longer serving as a means of communication between the city and the sea.

*The Romagna has now three archbishoprics, viz., at Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna, with suffragan sees at Bertinoro, Cervia, Cesena, Comacchio, Faenza, Forli, Imola, Rimini and Sarsina.

"Urbs maxima Ravenna," wrote that famous ancient geographer Strabo, "posita est tota ligneis compacta ædificiis, acquis diffusa, pontibusque, ac lembis peragrata," whence it would appear that the original position of the city was very similar to that of Venice.

It was in 402 that Honorius, for strategical reasons, removed his court from Constantinople to Ravenna with every hope of making it the most important port on the Adriatic. But neither King Canute nor Honorius succeeded in compelling the sea to their will; and to-day the great seaport—the Venice of the Romans—is an unhealthy desolated town, left dry by a sea which has retired six miles from the harbour where once rode the navies of Imperial Rome. Truly we may say of Ravenna in the words of the Prophet Jeremiah: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people? how is she become as a widow? she that was great among the nations and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary?"

Christianity was introduced here by St Apollinaris, whom legend represents as the personal friend and disciple of St Peter, commissioned by that Apostle from Rome to found this illustrious church in the Adriatic, and surviving through an ordeal of multiform persecutions to govern his flocks in his missionary diocese for twenty-nine years, after which period he suffered martyrdom, A.D. 74, under Vespasian. Till St Ursus (elected to this See about 400) built the first architectonic cathedral at Ravenna under the name "Anastasis," the Christians here had no other places of worship than cottages, performing their devotions "in tiguriis," as Agnellus* informs us in his chronicle, which extends over

* Agnellus was Bishop of Ravenna about 880, and his chronicle, the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiæ Ravennatis*, is, although written in very indifferent

the period from A.D. 50 to 841. Whilst Ravenna was the Imperial residence during the period most disastrous for the Western Empire, Honorius, Valentinian III and Galla Placidia, widow of the second Constantine, who took up her abode here, enriched the city with a series of ecclesiastical edifices finer than the capital of the Eastern Empire, and, as regards internal decoration, more interesting than those of Rome. To the last-named enlightened patron of the arts we owe those mosaics in the Baptistery contiguous to the Cathedral, those in the chapel of the Archbishop's palace, and in SS. Nazario e Celso, which she built as a family mausoleum.

Theodoric the Arian was also a benefactor to his capital, and, judged by the light of his time, an intelligent autocrat who promoted civilization at this centre.

Ravenna, as the metropolis of the Greek Exarchs, became more Byzantine than Byzantium itself. After their government had lasted a hundred and twenty-five years, the last of those vice-regal officers was expelled in 754 by Astolphus, the Longobard King, and Ravenna became, for but a short period indeed, the new capital of that semi-barbaric people. Soon occurred those events so fraught with importance to the temporal interests of the Papacy, the donation of Pepin comprising in the liberal concession to Rome (755) the whole of the province which from this time began to be styled "Romagna." Now the government of Ravenna was administered by her prelates in the name of, and in subjection to, the Popes (though certain of them

Latin, an invaluable document of those earlier ages in the Italian Church. It is minute, scrupulously careful in detail, and distinguished by the earnestness of a fresh and simple nature. It is printed in vol. II of Muratori's *Rev. Ital. Scriptores*, but by far the best edition is that by Holder Egger, in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, 1878.

seem to have been loath to submit to such a yoke); but about the time that other Italian cities shook off the trammels of aristocratic or imperial dominion, Ravenna also freed herself from the authority of her mitred rulers, and founded her new government on independently republican principles with a general council of 250 and a special council of seventy citizens. Early in the thirteenth century, one of the powerful Traversari family disturbed this order of things by raising himself to the rank of Duke of Ravenna, a title yet new, but without otherwise setting aside the institutions of his native city.

In 1240 Ravenna fell under the power of the Emperor Frederick II, who did not scruple to sacrifice her liberties by consigning her, eight years afterwards, to the troops of Pope Innocent IV, thenceforth to be governed by a papal officer with the title Count or Rector of Romagna. This new political phase was not of long duration, being brought to an end about 1300 by the ascendant influence of the Polenta family, who made themselves lords of Ravenna, and retained that power till nearly the middle of the fifteenth century, when, having become odious to the citizens, their usurpation was overthrown, and the Romagna spontaneously placed herself under Venice.

Till 1509 that Adriatic Republic comprised this acquisition within its territories, then ceded it to the Papacy; and, though in 1527 the Venetians again occupied Ravenna in order to make a more efficient stand against the mercenary armies of Charles V, three years later they once more handed over this possession to Rome by the treaty of Bologna.

The annexation of Ravenna to the Italian Kingdom is an event of comparatively recent history, and, as well known,

was accomplished with hardly a shadow of resistance on behalf of the feeble government overthrown.

At present Ravenna wears an air of desolation which sheds a gentle melancholy upon the soul. The people in its streets and grass-grown squares are few, and it has entirely lost the indications of commercial prosperity.

Its appearance is the more mournful from its great extent, of which I gained a clear idea when I ascended to the walls and took the whole city *in circumbendibus*, and from the size and almost unaltered splendour of those numerous churches in which, at the present day, the one transcendent interest of Ravenna consists.

> Fair city, worthy of her ancient fame!
> The season of her splendour is gone by,
> Yet everywhere its monuments remain.

No other city in the world—not even Rome itself—can shew so many striking examples of the ecclesiastical architecture of the period comprised between the fourth and eighth centuries. The style is commonly called Byzantine, and no doubt from the close connexion of Ravenna to Constantinople, considerable influence was exerted by the latter city on the former; but some of the most striking features of the Ravenna churches—the colonnades, the mosaics, the circular campaniles, and perhaps the cupolas—are not so much Byzantine as representative of early Christian art generally.

In Rome, where temples and thermæ lay in splendid and massive ruins on every hand, the founders of churches had no need to quarry columns nor to sculpture capitals or cornices. They had these ready to hand. In Ravenna, though both in that city and in Constantinople the emperors helped themselves to such precious shafts as were worth a sea

voyage, the architects originated capital and cornice decorations for themselves. The general character of the Ravennese sculpture, though far ruder than that of Rome in execution, is interesting from its simplicity and originality. We find the acanthus-leaf capital, but in a form which suggests the fresh joyousness of living vegetation blown by winds and clinging round the convex mass, rather than adhering to it in the old Corinthian manner, and this character of detail displays itself in the oldest of Ravenna's churches.

Generally speaking the outline of a Ravennese basilica is an unadorned and unattractive pile of brick. If it has any architectural grouping or outline about it, it owes it to the campanile which a later age has added. But if the churches of Ravenna are thus unattractive without, they are emphatically all glorious within. The eye dwells with genuine artistic delight on the long unbroken rows of pillars and arches, their marble shafts, their floriated capitals, sometimes the work of the Christian craftsman, sometimes the spirit of heathendom pressed into the service of the sanctuary. The whole plan of these buildings allows a great field for void spaces; but the void spaces thus left are filled up by those wonderful mosaics and paintings which look down upon us as fresh as when they were thirteen hundred years ago. They were older when Giotto painted his first fresco than Giotto's frescoes are now.

Christian art in general, but especially the mosaic, seems to have attained high excellence at Ravenna even earlier than at Rome. Indeed, the various works in the latter artistic form of the fifth and sixth centuries that still adorn Ravenna's churches are more interesting, more elaborate and bolder in composition than the contemporary examples of the same

art in the Eternal City. Vitreous mosaic—*crustæ vermiculatæ*—substituted for that in coloured marbles or terra-cotta more anciently in use, was first applied under the Empire to the adornment of walls and ceilings in private churches, sometimes also for pavements of temples, or in the banquet hall. In this latter material, more capable of brilliant effect, mosaic was early adopted by the Church for the representation of sacred subjects; its enduring nature, its suitability for majestic and colossal figures and groups being sufficient recommendation.

When at Ravenna, lingering in these old churches at a late hour, I have frequently noticed how the majestic mosaic forms that look down from conch of apse or frieze of nave gain enhanced effect, more solemnly expressive in the dim light, whilst coloured representations in fresco become too obscure for notice; and it cannot be denied that, though some charms are more easily felt than explained, many of these early Christian works of art have power to impress and interest, quite apart from the claims of the beautiful, and even when their characteristics are actually rude or grotesque.

The mosaic adornment of churches became conspicuous at Ravenna in the fifth century, through the care of its archbishops, of Honorius and of Galla Placidia, and in the latter part of the sixth century, after the fall of the Gothic kingdom, the churches rebuilt or reconstructed for Catholic instead of Arian* worship here received new embel-

* So called from Arius, a presbyter of the Church of Alexandria in the fourth century. Having maintained that the Son and the Father were essentially distinct, and that the Son was created out of nothing by the will of the Father, Alexander, the Bishop, in opposition to whose preaching he broached this doctrine, called a council, in which the doctrine was condemned, and Arius and those who sided with him, excommunicated. He

lishments, though in some instances doubt exists whether their extant treasures be attributable to heretic or orthodox donors. The beautiful and varied series ordered for the chapel of the archiepiscopal palace (c. 440) are still seen in preservation. Those in the basilica of St Giovanni Evangelista, founded by Galla Placidia in 425, have perished save a few insignificant fragments; another church, raised by that princess in 438, was almost rebuilt and classicized towards the end of the seventeenth century. The sixth-century mosaics in the now ruinous St Michele were long ago sold and are, I believe, now at Berlin. When Ravenna Cathedral was rebuilt in its present rococo form in 1735, not only with almost total loss of its ancient artistic wealth, but without regard for the *norma* of the original in the new architecture, among other contents that perished were all the mosaics of the tribune and choir, ordered by an archbishop in 1112, their subjects being the Resurrection and the Ascension, the martyrdom of St Apollinaris and the seventeen sainted prelates of the See.

The most important of the Ravenna churches group themselves into the following classes and, as far as possible, should be visited in the order given.

1. Churches belonging to the first age of the city, namely, to the time preceding the final overthrow of the Western Empire in the Gothic conquest under Odoacer in 476: The Baptistery of the Cathedral; St Giovanni Evangelista; Sta Agata; St Pietro Chrysologo (chapel in the Archbishop's palace), SS. Nazario e Celso; St Francesco.

was, after much discussion, recalled from banishment by the Emperor Constantine, and was just about to be received again into the pale of the Church when he died suddenly. Of his writings only two epistles are extant; and though there is a sect called "Arians," its doctrines are far more modified and less startling than those held by Arius.

2. Churches of the second epoch, i.e., from 476 to the death of Theodoric the Arian in 526. St Teodoro or St Spirito; Sta Maria in Cosmedin (formerly the Arian Baptistery); St Apollinaris Nuovo; St Vitalis; St Apollinaris in Classe.

3. Churches erected from the death of Theodoric, through the existence of the Exarchate to the decline of art: St Domenico, Sta Maria in Porto Fuori, Sta Maria in Porto, the Cathedral and others, some of which are desecrated.

Here then, within a circuit of about three miles, we have a most remarkable assemblage of religious edifices, almost the only remaining sign of this last stronghold of declining empire; this capital of the Gothic Italian kingdom; this seat of the feebly tyrannic Exarchate, long favoured by the munificent regards of Justinian and his orthodox successors and eventually handed over to the Papacy to become one of the most precious jewels in the tiara. Fraught is Ravenna with romantic incident, contrasts and eventful vicissitude. Her ecclesiastical annals alone are so important as to suffice for an interesting chapter in Italian story; and her religious monuments are, of their description, unique, less impaired by modern interferences, and more impressively complete than those of Rome, whilst supplying the fullest illustration of the ideas and genius that animated sacred art in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Observing due chronological order in our studies, we will proceed first to the orthodox Baptistery, or Church of St Giovanni Battista, situated a little to the north of the large but uninteresting eighteenth-century Cathedral. To give as clear an idea as is possible of the form of this building, I must ask the reader to imagine a plain square with the corners rounded off, rising seven and three-quarter metres from



Ravenna: Interior of the Orthodox Baptistery.

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the ground, and at that height converted into a perfect octagon terminating in a low eight-sided pyramidal roof of tiles, and having at the spring of four alternate sides little half-domes also tiled, covering the summits of the angles of the squares, where they are cut off to form the upper octagon. These half-domes are the roofs of four internal niches. The interior line of the ground plan is, in fact, a perfect octagon, with large semicircular niches projecting outwards from four alternate sides; but, by the concealment on the outside of the set-in, caused by the diameter of the niches being necessarily so much less than the width of the sides of the octagon from which they spring as was requisite to bring them within the original square, the outer line of the ground plan and the lower seven and three-quarter metres of the building externally preserve that form, with, as I have said, rounded angles. Earlier writers have described this Baptistery as an octagon with five continuous plain sides and two niches within the other three. So it appeared when they wrote. Two of the niches had been destroyed, but, as distinct traces upon the walls show where they originally stood, they were carefully restored in 1866 in exact accordance with the others. The exterior of the building is quite plain, with the exception of very simple brick cornices below the lines of the side and central roofs, and on the upper part of each wall of the octagon a blind window, like a sunk panel, having a double-arched top without any central mullion. On the lower part of one of these panels a small antique marble bas-relief of a mariner on horseback, with the right hand extended, has been let in, but why or when there is nothing to show.

While the sea-line had been further removed, the original formation of the soil had sunk until the ancient floor of

the Baptistery was sixteen centimetres below the level of the low-water line, and buried under three metres of filling in, being thirty-five centimetres lower than the actual level of the streets around, which had been raised through accumulation and other causes.* On entering, the mass of mosaic work covering this baptistery from floor to ceiling presents a scene of glorious beauty.

The earlier, dating from A.D. 430 and due to St Neon, Bishop of Ravenna at that time,† are those on the lower walls, where the prophets are represented on ovals of gold surrounded by green or gold scroll work. A little later are those in the cupola which in the Byzantine Church always absorbed the artist's highest powers.

Here we have for the central subject the Baptism of our Lord, a mosaic composition in which classic influences are still apparent. The principal figures have great dignity, beyond the central group being seen the Jordan, personified as an aged man with long hair and beard, who seems floating on his stream like the river gods in antique sculpture. Below, carried round the domed compartment, are the twelve Apostles, all executed on a blue ground. They are majestic figures, quite classically treated, in aspect (St Peter excepted) almost youthful, vested either in a cloth of gold tunic and white pallium, or with the tunic white and the pallium golden, each wearing a high cap like a mitre, and

* The sectional view of this baptistery as given in Isabelle's *Edifices Circulaires* (Paris, 1855) shews the present and original levels of the pavement. In the illustration here given only half the true height of the attached columns surrounding the building is shewn, the rest being buried beneath the present flooring.

† As we learn from the following distich, forming part of a metrical epigraph inscribed round the arches:

Magnanimus hunc namque Neon summusque sacerdos
Excoluit pulchro componens omnia cultu.

carrying a leafy crown in one hand, that of St Peter red, that of St Paul gold (certainly no indication of inferiority in the latter to the former). The Christ and St John have pale, greenish-blue nimbi with a red outline. On a still lower compartment at the intervals between the arcades of a sort of triforium are alternated designs, also mosaic, of a singularly symbolic character, consisting of altars or altar tombs, on each of which is laid a lily or a palm, and the four Gospels, each placed on a kind of *suggestus* with a richly embroidered cushion on which the Sacred Book lies open, just as it used to be exhibited in the midst of the church where the assemblies of the Œcumenical Councils were held. Thus we see here, in compendious symbolism, the representation of those great *comitia* of the Church.

In the centre of the building is the font, an octagonal bath, concerning which M. Isabelle in his *Édifices Circulaires* offers the following remarks:

"On y voit seulement, et c'est le premier example de cette disposition, une espèce de niche avec un pupitre en marbre, en avant de laquelle sont deux marches de la même matière. Le prêtre devait monter ces degrès, et il se trouvait ainsi placé de manière à dominer un peu le néophyte, ou, comme le dit Ciampini, à baptiser plus facilement les enfants."

There is no surrounding aisle to this baptistery such as we see in some later works of the same class, and its internal arrangement is worthy of particular notice, as we find in it a feature copied afterwards in the triforia of the basilican churches.

The feature to which I allude is the arched panel, including three arched openings separated by detached columns. This may be considered as one of the first instances of

decoration in different planes, which manifestly led to the formation of tracery.

This Baptistery at Ravenna is in all probability one of the earliest of that still numerous race of buildings belonging to a period of the Church when great numbers of adult catechumens were baptized, and when immersion was the rule. In other parts of Europe few baptisteries were built after the ninth century, but in Italy this adjunct was perpetuated into the thirteenth century, as witness such noble erections as those of Cremona, Florence, Lucca, Padua, Parma, Pisa and Pistoja. In later times these baptisteries were not infrequently converted into churches, as, for instance, at Asti.* Some of them are of great size, and occasionally, as at Novara, were connected with the Cathedral by means of an atrium or colonnade surrounding a square. Others were so large that councils and synods were held in them. It was necessary to make such structures large, because in the Early Church it was customary for the bishop to baptize all the catechumens in his diocese (and so baptisteries are commonly found attached to the cathedral, and not to parochial churches), and also because the rite was performed only thrice a year.

During the months when there were no baptisms, the baptistery doors were sealed with the bishop's seal. From the records of early councils we find that these structures were first built and used to correct the evils arising from the practice of private baptism.

* Perhaps hardly any example can be found beyond the Alps, except in our own island. Elgin furnishes the solitary instance where the octagon baptistery in the most graceful Gothic style groups with the cathedral, whose ruins relate the calamities which the Church of Scotland has sustained. In Germany the detached baptistery became merged in the western apse.

As soon as Christianity made such progress that infant baptism became the rule, and as soon as immersion gave place to sprinkling, the ancient baptisteries were no longer necessary. They are still in general use, I believe, in Florence and Pisa. In the early period, while immersion continued to be the ordinary rite in the administration of the sacrament, the baptistery was furnished with a basin in the floor sufficiently capacious to admit of a certain number of converts at one time. When it became customary to baptize by effusion, the size of the basin was naturally diminished, and eventually it assumed the dimensions and the form which are now familiar to us in most of the medieval churches in Great Britain and upon the Continent, and was placed in the church, either in a separate chapel or in some railed-off space.

It may be interesting to mention that in several English churches provision has been made of late years for baptism by immersion, notably in the beautiful church of St John, Torquay, and the parish church of St Mary's, Lambeth.

In Italy it frequently happens that the cathedral is the least interesting church in the city, architecturally considered. Those of Bologna, Cremona, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua and Pavia are instances in which either an entire rebuilding has taken place during the classical period, or where medieval work has been so shamelessly tortured into classical forms as to have lost all traces of antiquity.

The Cathedral at Ravenna is, I regret to say, an instance of this drastic treatment. All that remains of the church founded by St Ursus towards the close of the fourth century is the lofty cylindrical campanile,* which stands a little to the north-west and is compared to those of Oriental

*This is the prevailing form of the Ravennese campanile.

churches, the Cathedral itself having been entirely rebuilt in the uninteresting Italian style of 1733 with a grandiose western façade, a bare brick cruciform body and apsidal transepts. The whole is, in fact, only one of such structures the ecclesiologist encounters in this part of Europe *usque ad nauseam.**

That the interior of Ravenna Cathedral is imposing from its ample dimensions it were idle to deny; but it will be quitted without much regret after a few antiques from the medieval cathedral have been viewed. One of these is the ivory throne of St Maximianus, with the monogram of his name and title, "Episcopus." It shows various sacred reliefs, rude in design, but beautifully executed. In front is our Lord, of aged and severe aspect, giving benediction, while one hand holds a disc with the Lamb in relief upon it—a not very usual symbol for this subject. Beside Him are the Evangelists, each figure being under an arch. At the sides and back of the seat we find scenes from Gospel history and the life of the Patriarch Joseph.†

Parts of an ancient ambon of grey marble also remain imbedded in the wall of a passage behind the apse. They show low reliefs of birds, fishes and animals in square figures, and the legend, "SERVUS XPI Agnellus episc. hunc pyrgum fecit," which would fix the middle of the sixth century as the date of its execution.

Of about the same period is a silver processional cross also ascribed to St Agnellus.

It is of the Greek form, measures six palms at each length, and is adorned with forty heads of saints in medal-

* Eyesore as it is, it is wellnigh forgotten besides its own baptistery and campanile.

† A fine sepia coloured plate of this pulpit is given in Dusomerard's *Les Arts en Moyen Age*.

lion relief. On one side at the junction of the arms is a larger relief of the Resurrection, of strange and quaint design, the figure rising with one foot out of a deep tomb and holding a banner with the cross upon it. On the reverse side, similarly placed, is the Blessed Virgin, a veiled matronly figure in the act of prayer, but represented without the nimbus which is common to all the other saints.

Among the latter are introduced bishops of Ravenna, and the form of the pallium worn by them led Ciampini to assign a somewhat later origin for this beautiful cross than the time of St Agnellus.

The large two-bayed chapel opening out of the south transept contains two ancient tombs of marble with shallow reliefs upon them. Each is a shallow sarcophagus in form, standing on four low legs with semi-cylindrical top. One of them, the tomb of St Raynold, has in front our Lord in majesty, with cruciferous nimbus, between two angels who are presenting wreaths. At the ends is the monogram XP between the letters A Ω.

The other tomb, that of St Barbatian, the confessor of Galla Placidia, is very similar. It has, however, a head of our Lord in a circular nimbus which is cruciform with a St Andrew's cross, formed by the monogram XP being inscribed on the nimbus behind the head. The frequent device of two peacocks plucking at a wreath which surmounts the monogram XP may also be seen here.

The dome of this chapel is frescoed with an Assumption, but the Cathedral generally is devoid of colour except what is struck by the pillars of very strongly veined grey marble. In the aisles the marble of the pillars is almost white.

The north transept contains Guido's picture of the Ga-

thering of the Manna, inscribed, "Panem de cœlo præstitisti illis omne delectamentum in se habentem."

The mosaic floor is from the former edifice, and enclosed within the great west door are still preserved some fragments of its celebrated *Door of Vine-wood.* The original planks are said to have been thirteen feet long and nearly one and a quarter wide, a proof that the ancients were right in stating that the statue of Diana of Ephesus was hewn from the vine-wood of Cyprus. The wood of the Ravenna doors was probably imported from Constantinople.

The archiepiscopal throne, surmounted by a white tester, stands in the centre of the apse behind the high altar. The credence table, at which, by the way, two servers were indulging in a pugilistic encounter while I was inspecting the Cathedral, stands on the north side of the sanctuary. The two organ cases have sham pipes painted on the blinds which are ordinarily kept drawn over the tin ones. In the apse are large pictures representing scenes in the lives of SS. Severus, Apollinaris, Peter Chrysologus and Ursus, four of the greatest of Ravenna's archbishops.

Buonamici, in his *Metropolitana di Ravenna Architettura*, published in 1768 and dedicated to Pope Benedict XIV, gives a large plate of the apse of the old cathedral, showing its mosaic decoration, which must have transcended those of the other churches in magnificence. In the semi-dome was the Resurrection, and below, between the windows, two subjects from the life of St Apollinaris and figures of St Barbatian, the Blessed Virgin, St John the Baptist and St Ursus. In a frieze beneath were eighteen figures of sainted prelates of Ravenna, and in the roof the "Resurrection."

Taking the monuments of Ravenna in due chronological order we leave the Cathedral and, threading the Strada del

Duomo and the Strada Cavour, find ourselves standing before the church of St Vitalis, a little to the east of which—in fact, within the same enclosure—we find SS. Nazario e Celso, constructed in the fifth century as a sepulchral chapel for herself and family by the Empress Galla Placidia, who has left us in this little building one of the most interesting of yet existing basilicas. Its plan is that of a very short Latin cross, almost Greek in fact, and with all its decorations perfect except where the golden marble panelling from Numidia which covered the lower four feet of the walls was long since stripped off.

Galla Placidia, whose early life was a tragic romance, governed the remains of the Western Empire after the death of Honorius during the minority of her son Valentinian III. With large resources at her disposal, and devoutly inclined, she was solicitous for the construction and decoration of churches both at Rome and Ravenna, and amongst the rest built this sepulchral chapel. Galla Placidia died at Rome in 440, but her remains were conveyed to Ravenna and deposited in the place which had been prepared for their reception.

This building is very small, scarce forty feet in greatest length, cruciform, of the regular Latin proportions, and rises into a little dome at the intersection. The whole is vaulted in very massive masonry and beautifully encrusted with marbles and mosaics in that Arabico-Byzantine style which first found its way into Italy from the Sicilian shores.

SS. Nazario e Celso was built to contain three heavy sarcophagi, for which there is just room in the three smaller arms of the cross; and the Christian symbols with which they are sculptured—lambs, doves drinking from vases, fruit-bearing palms, the four rivers of Paradise, fountains

and the sacred monogram—entitle these sarcophagi to rank among objects of sacred art. These have never been disturbed, and are the only tombs which remain in their places of the whole line of Cæsars, whether Eastern or Western. The Empress herself was interred in the immense marble sarcophagus behind the single altar of diaphanous Oriental alabaster. Her body was preserved in full dress, sitting upright in a chair of cypress wood, down to 1577, when it was unfortunately consumed through the mischief of some children who inserted a taper into the aperture, and thus, the rich vestments taking fire, was this unique relic of imperial pomp in death reduced to a heap of ashes, no more even in this condition visible, as the orifice has been closed ever since.

The altar, to which I have already alluded, stands under the cupola. It is of the usual height and proportions, rather short, and is raised upon a single step or foot-pace. The front is rudely sculptured with a cross, a lamb and a dove in *basso-rilievo*. On the altar is a small predella to carry the candlesticks. Whether this forms part of the original altar is doubtful, but the whole is a fair specimen of an altar in its ancient state.

Ravenna under the Greek exarchs became more Byzantine than Byzantium itself. It certainly possesses a finer series of ecclesiastical edifices than the capital of the Eastern Empire, and, as regards internal decoration, more interesting than those of Rome. That of the little building now under review is among the loveliest gems of the mosaic art whether at Ravenna or elsewhere.

The upper portions of the walls and the vaulted ceilings are covered with the richest mosaics, scarcely, if anything, inferior to the Prophets in the Baptistery, and infinitely

finer than the decoration of the dome. The works here afford abundant evidence of the great vitality still existing in pictorial art even at that late period, and of what was the spirit of the Christianity of that time. Like those in the Baptistery, the mosaics in this mausoleum are evidently separate productions by different distinguished artists belonging to one school, but each leaving the mark of his individual style upon his work. The Prophets in the Baptistery are probably by one master, but in the mausoleum the work of four if not five different artists can be traced. The lower portion of the walls was, as I have remarked, originally panelled with the golden yellow marble of Numidia, which has disappeared, but from the height of about six feet the interior is completely covered with mosaic in every part. In the lunette at the summit of the wall at the foot of the cross is a picture of the Good Shepherd. In every sense it is a remarkable work, rivalling in drawing and beauty of composition the best wall paintings found at Pompeii. It may, with a fair degree of probability, be considered the earliest pictorial representation of our Blessed Lord, and marks distinctly the religious development or change which, at the time when the Pagan religion was still a living creed, unconsciously influenced the artist to merge and lose the milder glories of Apollo in his representation of the divinity of the Son of Man. At first sight this picture in the mausoleum at Ravenna looks like a lovely rendering of the youthful Apollo or of Orpheus, but it is only necessary to dismiss all classic recollections to recognize nothing but the art production of a mind fully impressed with the inexhaustible love of the Good Shepherd for His sheep. Our Lord here is represented seated in a grass-grown, rocky landscape, in a slightly reclining posture, with the feet extended

forward, and one negligently thrown over the other. His right hand, extended downwards by His side, caresses one of the six sheep grouped about Him, and His left, raised upwards, rests upon a *crux hastata* of gold, with one cross-bar above, and two close together near the foot. He is draped in a long vesture of gold with loose sleeves, of which the left has fallen back, leaving the raised arm bare.

Over the left shoulder hang the folds of a light chlamys of rich purple, which passing behind the figure, crosses the lap above the knees and falls on the left side. The colouring of the cloth-of-gold tunic is most skilfully rendered. It has the semi-transparent effect of a kind of golden gauze, and the diaphanous shadings of the light folds is admirable. Down the length of the tunic, from the shoulder to the ground, are two lines of blue. On the feet are black sandals tied with bows above the instep. The face is that of a beautiful beardless youth, with auburn hair falling on the shoulders, and around the head is a plain gold nimbus. Anything more classic in art, imbued with the deepest sentiment of the Christian religion, it would be difficult to imagine.

Entirely in a different style is the picture at the opposite extremity of the mausoleum. The centre is occupied by a great gridiron above a flaming fire.

On the right, advancing with energetic stride towards it, is St Lawrence, his drapery floating behind him in the wind, and on his shoulder he carries a long slender cross, lance fashion. To the left is what looks like an open cupboard, on the two shelves of which lie four volumes bound in red, each bearing the name of one of the Evangelists. This picture is the work of an artist whose bold, vigorous and somewhat crude touch is essentially different from the exquisitely delicate finish which evidently constituted the

characteristic of the works of the author of the Good Shepherd; and as distinctly different from these is the no less masterly style of the harts at the water brook.

By another hand again are the eight figures—one on each side of the windows in the four walls above the arches supporting the dome. They are full of action, admirably posed, and bear resemblance to the Prophets in the Baptistery, but are inferior to them.

Below each window is a vase, with doves perched on the rim and drinking, noticeable from the resemblance they bear to the celebrated antique mosaic known as "Pliny's Doves."

Space precludes me from descanting upon the exquisite wreaths of fruit, the ornamented surface of the vaulted ceilings and the variety of detail which adorn and frame these pictures. The whole is set in a rich background of deep blue, which makes that colour, intermingled with gold, the prevailing tone of the whole, culminating in the dome, where circles of stars, gradually increasing in size, blend as it were into each other, through their long thin rays, like those flashing from the planets, touching until they enclose a Latin cross at the summit.

The solemnity of this little Church of SS. Nazario e Celso is beyond description, built by a woman, the strange vicissitudes of whose chequered career add another tragic chapter to the story of declining Empire, which would, in her case, be more pathetic were we allowed to ascribe any attributes of moral elevation to her character. Alternately exalted and degraded, she lived to be a Gothic Queen, a Roman Empress, twice a captive in barbarian armies, and once driven on foot amidst the common herd before the car of the Gothic usurper, her first husband's murderer.

She does not appear to have been deficient in talent to subjugate the will of her two husbands and her feeble brother, Honorius, or in that sort of demonstrative piety then fashionable at the imperial court; but her conduct in consenting to the unjust execution of her unfortunate cousin, Serena, widow of Stilicho, during the siege of Rome by Alaric shews Galla Placidia in a repulsive light, cruel in her lenity.

There is a curious legend in connexion with Galla Placidia which I will relate to the reader as we walk towards St Giovanni Evangelista, another church founded by that lady, and situated in the prosaic vicinity of the railway station. The princess and her suite were on a voyage from Constantinople to Ravenna, when a great tempest overtook their vessels. In the extreme of peril Placidia called on all to direct their prayer and trust to the beloved Apostle, vowing a splendid church to be dedicated to him should they reach Ravenna in safety. Presently appeared the visible assurance of his protection, for St John the Evangelist was seen by all, on *each* ship, performing the task of the paralysed mariners, and thus steering them safe to port. Mindful of her vow, Placidia ordered works to begin for constructing one of the finest churches yet seen in Ravenna. The richest marbles were brought from various quarries, mosaics were executed for apse and "arch of triumph" representing the tempest and vision at sea, also the subject from the Apocalypse of the Saviour giving a book to the Apostle and desiring him to eat it; and the teselated pavement was disposed so as to imitate, in wavy lines of marble, the tossing sea-waves.

But Placidia was in grief, seeing she could not hope to obtain any sort of relic of St John for her church's last consecration; so her confessor, St Barbatian, advised her



Ravenna: Doorway of St. Giovanni Evangelista.

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to persist in prayer and fasting, with the trust that her great desire might in some measure be fulfilled. He kept vigil with her himself, night after night, in the same church; and at last, when both had fallen asleep after long watching, the confessor saw a majestic personage in long white vestments, who stood offering incense at the altar. He woke Placidia to point out that vision which she also beheld, and straightway rushing to the altar, the princess threw herself at the feet of the mysterious figure, seized his right foot, and so firmly, that the sandal was left in her hand, when St John the Evangelist, for he it indeed was, vanished the moment mortal form had touched his form, now become immortal. Next day in presence of the Emperor, the Archbishop and St Barbatian, Placidia offered this inestimable relic at the altar, and then had it immured in a secret place within this building where none should be able to find it.

And here in the tympanum of the exquisitely beautiful Giotto-like portal which admits to the cortile in front of the church, we see sculptured the apparition of the Apostle attended by angels at the altar, while Placidia kneels to touch his foot.

Two reliefs within the gable represent the offering or enshrining of the holy sandal by the princess, while between them seated figures of the Emperor and a mitred prelate are introduced, above them being a half-length figure of our Lord, who looks down upon the group below from a species of tabernacle. The spandrels formed by the arch of this doorway and the lintel of the gable illustrate the Annunciation.

No description can do justice to this doorway, a *rara avis* in Ravenna, with its variety of mouldings and exquisite leafage, so I must refer my readers to the accompanying illustration, in which they will not fail to observe the

six rows of minute canopied figures introduced between the slender twisted shafts supporting the three orders of the arch.

The basilica in the rear of this graceful conception now contains little of the splendour and scarcely a remnant of the mosaic decoration with which Galla Placidia so richly endowed it, and upon which the old chroniclers have so enthusiastically descanted, having been entirely rebuilt, but with the preservation of its colonnades of beautifully veined *bigio antico*, a dark grey marble, which in the cross views of the interior assume the most elegant attitudes. The capitals are Corinthian, and have as usual in Ravenna the superimposed capitals* inscribed with crosses. All above the arches is poor, feeble work of pseudo-classical character.

To the apse, which is very small and contains the stalls of the Sisters attached to the contiguous hospital, is an ascent of thirteen steps, and beneath the high altar repose the remains of the martyrs, SS. Cangius, Cangianus and Cangianilla.

The church retains, however, some vestiges of antiquity. One is a great column with a nobly foliaged capital of Venetian type built into the wall at the south-west corner of the nave and belonging to an older church. The pavement around this pillar has been taken up, and its lower part, surrounded by water at a depth of five feet below the present flooring of the church, exposed.

Another is the original high altar with its confessionary, a rich and beautiful work in Greek marble, porphyry and serpentine of the fifth century.

Some fragments of the ancient decorations are extant in a mosaic, representing the vow of Galla Placidia, at the east

*In strict architectural nomenclature this additional capital is styled "dosseret."

end of the north aisle, and in some frescoes on the vault of the fourth chapel in the south aisle, ascribed to Giotto, and representing the four Evangelists with their symbols and the four Latin doctors.

The square pulpit, supported on four Tuscan columns of veined marble, is one of the most pleasing of the *instrumenta*.

Externally the appearance of St Giovanni Evangelista is rude, but the square south-western campanile, crowned by a tiled spire, has a graceful contour in the different views of the city.

Sta Agata Maggiore (St Agatha the Great) is a good, but not large, example of its period. It was built about A.D. 400 by the Bishop Exuperantius, and, although deficient in mural decoration, is one of the most charming of the Ravennese basilicas, having undergone a careful restoration which has purged it of much tawdry rococo work.

The nave, which has in all eleven bays, is divided from its aisles by an arcade supported on columns of varied material, such as granite, bigio antico, cipollino and other marbles for which the Italians have so extensive a nomenclature. The foliaging of the capitals hesitates between the classic and the Byzantine variety of Corinthian, and instead of the square abacus, the cap is surmounted by that Ravennese peculiarity, the impost, sculptured with the cross. The last arch on either side dies off into the wall in lieu of being brought down on to the capital of a half-pillar.*

Mr R. Phené Spiers, in his *Architecture East and West*, is of opinion that many of these capitals in Sta Agata belong to the sixth century, and were not carved for the church, whilst others are barbarous copies of eighth- or ninth-century work. The arches of the original church were carried

* See illustration, p. 22.

on piers instead of columns. In Rome, where the architects had abundant resources, they were enabled to take the columns from ancient buildings, but in Ravenna they were forced to content themselves with piers, unless, as in St Vitale, St Apollinaris Nuovo and St Apollinaris in Classe, they were privileged by the Greek Emperor to obtain them from the Greek quarries.

Square piers, however, were much in the way, so that, probably in the ninth century, when there seems to have been a revival in church building in the North of Italy, Sta Agata was partially rebuilt and with materials from more ancient structures.

Excavations have revealed the fact that the original floor of the fifth-century church, laid with cubes of mosaic half-inch square, has been found at a depth of eight feet below the present church, which is on the same level as the street, so that, allowing two feet for the steps entering the original church, the street has risen ten feet between the fifth and the present century.

The roof of the nave is a low gabled open one of wood, with the beams placed close together; roofs of the lean-to type cover the aisles.

The apse, which joins the nave without any intervening bay, dates from the latter part of the seventeenth century, the original one, together with the mosaics which adorned it, having been destroyed by an earthquake in 1688.

Perhaps the most striking constructional feature in Sta Agata is its internal narthex, one not only interesting as being unique, I believe, in Ravenna, but admirable from the manner in which it imparts an appearance of greater length to the interior.

This narthex is formed by separating the first two arcades

on either side from the remaining nine by a pier instead of a column. Against this pier is placed a plain massive square half-column supporting an arch which spans the church transversely at the same height as that opening into the apse. The effect of this division is very striking indeed.

It is curious to observe how, in the long cycle of the Christian Church, things of old are inevitably revived. The late William Butterfield in designing churches almost invariably caused his porch or porches to open into a spacious unbenched bay at the west end, as at St Matthias', Stoke Newington, where the most westerly arch on either side is separated from the rest by a pier instead of a detached column. At St Matthias' the finely proportioned saddleback steeple stands over the chancel, but at St Alban's, Holborn, a no less striking example of his skill, where the gabled steeple constitutes part of a gigantic façade from which transepts extend as at St Cunibert's, Cologne, the distinction is still more marked by the noble arch which, carried up to the full height of the church, separates the nave from the space formed beneath the steeple.

Within one of the arcades on the south side of the nave of Sta Agata stands a most interesting and elegant oval-shaped ambon of cipollino marble, mounted upon a plain base and with its sides ornamented by concave arcades calling to mind the font in Ancaster Church, Lincolnshire. These ambons, of which there are several in the Ravenna churches, seem to have had no permanent steps to reach them, being approached in all probability by temporary wooden ones, an aperture being made large enough for the reader or preacher to enter. There are two apertures in this ambon at Sta Agata, which is in all probability the hollowed out section of a huge fluted column.

The front of the high altar is enriched with carving. There is a Latin cross in the centre intersected at the junction of the arms by one of the St Andrew's shape.

On either side is sculptured a bird, a peacock presumably, and above is a band of gracefully foliaged ornament.

Behind the altar, and following the sweep of the apse, are some very good Renaissance stalls. The altar of the south chapel contains the bodies of St Sergius, martyr, and St Agnellus, archbishop, and bears the two monograms of Sergius Diaconus.

The very curious ancient chapel in the archbishop's palace, attributed to the time of St Peter Chrysologus, should by no means be overlooked, containing as it does some of the noblest among specimens of fifth-century art at Ravenna. They expand above the marble incrustation round the lower part of the building, which comprises a small square nave with intersecting cylindrical vaults opening into a small chancel also cylindrically vaulted by an arch with deep *intrados*. The effect in this little building produced by the mosaic decoration is one of great gorgeousness allied with an austere and unworldly beauty. The brilliant hues of the mosaic are as unfaded as the quaint and massive architecture is intact, since the days when the emperors of a ruined State trifled away their fear-stricken lives at Ravenna.

The most remarkable feature in these pictures is the representation of our Lord at different ages. In one place we see Him as a young boy; in another as a youth of eighteen with the same benignly beautiful features more developed; in a third as a fully matured man, costumed like a Greek emperor in gold and purple, bearing in one

hand a long red cross, and in the other an open book inscribed *Ego sum Via, Veritas et Vita.*

Then there are four majestic-looking angels in long white vestments with solemn countenances expressing a kind of awful joy, and supporting on their uplifted arms the labarum within an aureole, and numerous other figures and heads of apostles and saints, all characterized by general sameness of type; eyes large and staring, forehead low and flat, lips full and curling; the female heads all veiled, but with rich coiffure, braided hair in sight, except one, St Felicitas, who has the head-dress of a religious. Over the altar, which is at the extreme east end, is a mosaic of the Blessed Virgin with expanded arms and in act of prayer. The head is closely veiled, the robes are ample and of purple, and the aspect is one of matronly maturity, severe yet modest. It is a figure of the interceding mother or rather the personified Church, not that of the heavenly Queen who herself demands worship. This picture came from the Cathedral when it was rebuilt in the eighteenth century. It is of the twelfth century, and the only mosaic here of later date than the rest.

The Basilica of St Francesco was dedicated, on its completion during the first half of the fifth century, to St Peter, the change in its name taking place in 1251 when the Franciscan Order came into possession of it.

Although this church passed through the revived classical period without loss of much that is essential to the early basilican style, it has little to recommend it beyond its spacious imposing interior with three apses corresponding to the nave and aisles, its eleven arches carried on Corinthian columns of grey marble, and its finely proportioned campanile, a curious mingling of the Lombard

and Roman types and built of the darkest brick, like that at St Albans. It projects into the aisle at the south-west corner, leaving just a little space between its wall and the two most westerly bays of the nave. The pseudo-Renaissance high attics and sham vaulting, which, by the way, is cracking in all directions, mask that simple frieze and open wooden roof which are assumed to be the primitive form of basilican covering. It is to be hoped that this wretched work may ere long be removed, and the upper parts of this nobly proportioned church restored in all their early simplicity.

The holy water stoups in St Francesco have a large marble globe placed in their middle on a pedestal, which in many other instances I found surmounted by a figure or a representation of our Lord's Baptism.

There are two rows of stalls behind the choir and an organ on each side. An inscription here informs us that the anniversary of the consecration of this church is observed on February 22.

At the east end of the south aisle is an ancient altar, panelled in front with five arcades and covering the dust of Archbishop Liberius II. These have shell-shaped half-domes, twisted pillarets and gracefully draped figures, of which the central one is represented seated in a curule chair. There are likewise two niched effigies at the north and south sides.

This church is remarkable for its medieval tombs, of which that on either side of the west door is a good example. One has the recumbent figure in bas-relief of Ostosio da Polenta, Count of Ravenna (died 1386), and vested as a mendicant friar. The head is singularly beautiful. Perhaps the greatest lustre is shed around St Francesco as the church in which Dante was originally interred. His remains

are no longer here, but repose in a mausoleum leaning against the lateral wall of the church though quite distinct in architecture. Originally built in 1482, it was feebly restored two hundred years later.

We now pass on to the churches of the Ostro-Gothic period, built between 489 and 526 during the glorious and prosperous reign of Theodoric, which gave the first example of enlightened and temporary popular foreign domination in Italy. Like his ancestors of the royal Gothic race of the Amali, Theodoric was an Arian, but indifferent to controversy, and never violated the peace or privileges of the Catholic Church. The particulars of the government of this memorable prince, who shed a short-lived lustre on the Gothic name, are recorded in twelve books by his secretary, the senator Cassiodorus, a man of learning, who induced his illiterate master to become a patron of art and literature. Towards the close of his reign an intolerant edict of the Byzantine court against the Arians in his dominions induced this prince, against his usual policy to meditate a retaliation against the orthodox of Italy, which, however, was frustrated by his death. It is to be lamented that an act of tyranny against two exemplary characters, Boetius and Symmachus, his father-in-law, closed his career. These senators were both arbitrarily put to death on the mere suspicion of an intrigue between a senatorial party and the imperial court.

No sooner had this cruel act been perpetrated than Theodoric was seized with remorse, and a fever ensued which terminated his existence in three days, leaving his sceptre in the hands of a feeble boy, directed indeed by an able and high-minded woman, Amalasuntha, Theodoric's widowed daughter, who was ungratefully betrayed and put to

death by her cousin Theodatus, called by herself to the throne left vacant by the premature death of her son Athalaric. Ravenna was the ordinary residence of Theodoric, and the façade of what must have been a most sumptuous palace is still to be seen adjacent to St Apollinaris Nuovo, the most noble of the many noble churches founded by the prince in his capital of the Romagna.

Amalasuntha is said to have raised the mausoleum of Theodoric, which, like those of SS. Helena and Constantia at Rome, was at some medieval period dedicated as a church, having successively borne the names of *Sta Maria in Memoriam Regis*, of *Sta Maria ad Farma* and *Sta Maria Rotonda*, but it has been ascertained to have been built during the lifetime of that monarch.

Few of the monuments of Ravenna are invested with a greater solemnity than this singular mausoleum of Theodoric. Rising among woods at a short distance from the city on its north-eastern side, where a sylvan scene of quiet loveliness environs this monument of eventful story and perished nationality, it is now left to silent solitude, having been long since robbed of the sarcophagus in which Greek bigotry would not grant the repose of the tomb to an Arian sovereign.

The very contradictory of such a system of construction as prevails in St Vitalis, this mausoleum is a circular—or rather a polygonal with the effect of being a circular—structure of marble. It consists of a very solid cruciform vault in the basement, into which the sea-water has access.

Above this rises the polygonal portion, at each of whose ten sides opens a deep recess under a semicircular arch. This portion, reached by two outer staircases, added in 1780, is surrounded by a vaulted gallery which was—for it

is no longer existing—completely external to the main chamber and only entered from it by two or three openings. The drum of the dome that covers the centre is lighted by a row of small windows between a simple band and cornice. The dome itself is of one single, solid mass of Istrian stone, hollowed out and cut externally into a bold convex, having massive stone handles hollowed under, by means of which it was raised to its position.

Against the outer surface of each of these stood, it is said, the image of one of the Apostles. There is no trace of them now, the vault of the surrounding gallery having been destroyed.

What is most curious about this enormous mass of stone, weighing 2,280,000lb. in its rough state, and 940,000lb. at the present time, is that it must have been the first stone of the building. It is quite inconceivable that, after the raising of the walls to the requisite height, such a mass could have been first raised and then moved by machinery wide enough to embrace the building and drop its roof upon it. The only reasonable explanation of it is that the stone was raised and held aloft by scaffolding until the walls rose and received it.

As a *tour de force* it is a wonderful testimony to the energy and vigour of Theodoric the Goth, who had it made to support the porphyry sarcophagus he was buried in, which may now be seen attached to the front of his palace as above mentioned.

Of the Ravennese monuments raised under the auspices of Theodoric, let us take the first, the Arian Baptistery, situated a little to the west of the Church of St Spirito, which lies to the western side of the Corso Garibaldi, turning to the right on leaving the open space before the railway station.

This structure, now known as Sta Maria in Cosmedin, is circular within, octagonal without. From one of the eight sides projects a small round-ended apse, while another has a loggia of three arches. The building is entirely without mouldings but gorgeous with mosaics, which were not added until after the reconstruction of the edifice by the Catholics. From the close resemblance in the style, arrangement and detail of the mosaics in the dome of this baptistery and of those in the upper part of the dome of the Orthodox Baptistery, one would opine that they belonged to the same period. It is possible that the upper mosaics in the Orthodox Baptistery may have been injured during the religious contests between the Arians and the Catholics, or they may have been altered during the Arian domination, and when the Arian Baptistery was reconsecrated and redecorated in accordance with Catholic doctrines after the death of Theodoric. The ornamentation of both domes may have been entrusted to the same master. One thing is certain, they are identical in style.

The mosaics in the Arian Baptistery are divided into zones. In the lower are the twelve Apostles, disproportionately lengthy figures, divided from each other by conventional palm trees instead of tall acanthus stalks. They are advancing carrying crowns, and they surround a representation of the Baptism in the Jordan—if anything slightly superior to that in the Orthodox Baptistery. The nude figure of our Lord is standing up to the middle in the water, His hands extended into it, and His lower limbs seen through it; and at the side is a mythological representation of the river deity. Instead of a lower zone, divided into compartments, containing thrones and tables supporting the Gospels, which the size of the Arian dome does not permit, the zone con-

taining the Apostles has a thirteenth compartment in which there is a throne—exactly the same as those in the Orthodox Baptistery—having a rich cushion on the seat and upon it a jewelled cross.

The neighbouring Church of St Spirito *alias* St Teodoro, a small but tastefully restored basilica of sombre aspect, stands a little to the east of the Arian Baptistery, and is one of the churches built in Ravenna for that sect under the auspices of Theodoric. It assumed the name of St Teodoro after its consecration to the Catholic worship of St Agnellus, and afterwards took its present dedication.

St Spirito has all the basilican characteristics, viz., two graceful ranges of eight arches on columns of varied marbles, with composite capitals and cross-inscribed entablature, and their bases exposed; a series of small, round-headed windows in the clerestory between which and the arcades is a belt of paintings—heads within circles; a roof of wood, flat and panelled; an apse whose conch is richly decorated with a figure of our Lord seated between two saints, beyond whom on either side are three sheep; and an ancient pulpit or ambon of marble, small and with bulging sides.

There is a western loggia of five arcades with a lean-to roof, and over the west doors are these inscriptions: "Spiritum nolite extinguere"; "Nolite contristari Spiritum"; and "Implemini Spiritu sancto."

I attended some devotions in this little church on one of the evenings during my stay in Ravenna, when the singing, to the accompaniment of a feeble little organ in the west gallery which completely broke down on the performer's essaying some Mozart-like runs, was very harsh and disagreeable. Let us hope that the hearts of the con-

gregation at St Spirito, almost entirely composed of the poor, were the best and most musical performers.

St Apollinaris Nuovo, whose mosaic decoration is pronounced by critics one of the finest examples of the early Christian school in Italy, was originally built by Theodoric as an Arian cathedral. It was consecrated for Catholic worship by Archbishop St Agnellus at the close of the Gothic kingdom and dedicated to St Martin. It was also called St Martino in Cœlo Aureo on account of its magnificent decorations, and Sacellum Arii from its original destination. The present dedication was conferred upon it in the ninth century from the report that the body of St Apollinaris had been tranferred within its walls in order to secure it in its real resting-place at Classe from the attacks of the Saracens.

It is a basilica 315 feet long, terminating in an apse separated from the nave by a rather deep, aisleless limb, which approaches more nearly to the later chancel than anything else I know of so early a date. Unfortunately the whole of the eastern limb of the church was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, and the mosaics, from whose golden backgrounds the church derived its appellation, St Martino in Cœlo Aureo, were destroyed.

Tawdry red and blue hangings edged with silver concealed the apse from view on the occasion of my visit, which was the festival of St Anthony of Padua, whose especial attribute seemed to be the white lily, quantities of which were being purchased outside the basilica, which they filled with their perfume, obviating to a considerable extent the damp, earthy smell that pervades almost all these old Ravenna churches.

The nave of St Apollinaris Nuovo is its noblest part:



Ravenna: View across nave in St. Apollinaris Nuovo.

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it is comparatively unaltered and retains its roof, which is flat and coffered, unlike those of the generality of the churches in Ravenna, where it is open and of a low-pitched gable form.

The arches separating the nave from its aisles are supported on ancient monolithic columns, each of which has above the capital proper an additional one inscribed with a cross. The floor of the church has been so much raised that the bases of the columns are hidden eighteen inches below the pavement, considerably to the detriment of the general effect of the elevation, as are the nondescript chapels opening from the north aisle. Within the eighth bay counting from the east is an ancient marble ambon on five shafts, which like that in Sta Agata has no steps.* A wooden door has been inserted into the aperture on the western side.

The glory of St Apollinaris Nuovo is the mosaic decoration, not only of the frieze between the arcades and the clerestory on either side of the nave, but the wall spaces between and above the windows, all of which taken in conjunction with the coffered ceiling presents a specimen of early Christian iconography doubly interesting from the almost entirely unaltered condition in which it has come down to us. The triforium belt on either side is enriched with a processional treatment which struck the keynote for Hippolyte Flandrin's remarkable work in the Church of St Vincent de Paul at Paris.

On the north is represented the neighbouring town of Classis, whence issues a procession of twenty-two virgins bearing crowns and advancing towards the Blessed Virgin

*I am inclined to believe that these pulpits in the Ravenna churches are formed out of the ambons originally included in the cancelli.

enthroned with the Infant Christ in her lap, and between whom and the virgins are the three Magi hurrying forward to present their gifts.

On the opposite wall is a procession of twenty-six male saints, passing from the *Palatium*, where the Redeemer, draped only in the imperial purple, as in the apse of St Vitalis, is enthroned between angels, two on each side.

While there is much sentiment about the female figures particularly, there is a poverty of design in the sameness of their attitudes, additionally revealed by the obvious effort made to vary them. The proportions, however, are just, and though the drawing is tame it can scarcely be called stiff.

Between the young faces of the virgins there is a more or less general resemblance, but the attempt to give expression to the general characters has been more successful in the men, where the difference of ages and the arrangement of the hair and beard afforded more scope for the artist.

There is, however, a very marked difference in point of art between the Virgin enthroned and the saints who are approaching her. Her figure is disproportionately lengthy, the head very small, the eyes round and staring, and the hands and feet grotesquely small, all peculiarities belonging to so much later a period as to suggest the strong probability of that figure being a restoration made at the time when the Basilica was rededicated to St Apollinaris in 856.

A not very judicious reparation of these mosaics took place during the early 'sixties of the last century, when the sceptre, originally held by our Lord, was changed to an open book. The colour of the new gold is as unsatisfactory as we generally find it in modern work.

Throughout these works at St Apollinaris the colour scheme is very beautiful. The upper robes of the virgins

are gold, with red and green spots of ornaments; their dressings white with grey shading; and their shoes red. Above these processions occur the Apostles, in white, on a gold ground, placed between the round-headed windows of the clerestory, which unfortunately retain their miserable nondescript glazing in small panes like that of a London church built under the Million Act. Over these figures again are scenes from the Life of Christ in small oblong compartments. It is curious to observe in these Ravennese mosaics that our Lord is only represented with a beard in the later events depicted. No Crucifixion scene is shown; it was a subject to be abhorred.

Another detail observable in these decorations, not only at St Apollinaris but in the other churches, has yet to be explained. On the corners of the mantles worn by the male figures, whether those of our Lord or of prophets, Apostles or saints, are signs of three or four inches in length. Some resemble the capital letters H.N.C.T.R.O., but the most common forms are like the letter I, and in the shape of a two-sided mason's square, and this sign is on every corner of the cloths which cover the tables in the pictures of Melchisedec in St Vitalis and St Apollinaris in Classe. On the drapery of the figures of the Saviour these signs are made in gold, and on those of the others in black. The portrait of Justinian which occurs in the last chapel on the north was formerly outside the portal.

St Vitalis, the most complicated and at the same time perhaps the most beautiful of the circular churches of its age, was founded in 526 by Bishop Ecclesius, after a journey which he took to Constantinople with Pope John I. Authorities seem divided as to what was the original motif for this structure, but it would appear to be a fusion of western

and Oriental ideas as exemplified in the temple of Minerva Medica—a picturesque ruin on the Esquiline near the Porta Maggiore—and the octagonal church built by Constantine at Antioch. St Vitalis differs from the former in that it is an octagon instead of a decagon, and that it is wholly enclosed by an octagonal wall, besides which its general plan, decorative details and other striking analogies which exist between it and the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople, called by its contemporary architects "the Little Sta Sophia," which preceded the great church of that name, leave little doubt that this remarkable edifice at Ravenna was constructed by a Constantinopolitan architect, and that it was the first appearance of the Byzantine style on the western shores of the Adriatic.

At Sta Sophia, changed into the temple of another faith, the most characteristic ornaments have been hidden by whitewash or torn away, while at St Vitalis Hebrew patriarchs, and Christian saints, and the imperial forms of Justinian and his strangely chosen empress, still look down as they did thirteen hundred years ago upon the altars of Christian worship.

St Vitalis is not a Latin basilica, but an octagon supporting a dome, a shape which seems to have excited the admiration of Charlemagne, who caused it to be copied in the stately tomb-house which he reared for himself in the latter years of the eighth century at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The original chancel of Charlemagne's octagon disappeared during the fourteenth century, when it was replaced by the present elongated, lofty and luminous structure which we now see. That it had one is recoverable by analogy with the very interesting and perfect octagonal church at Ottmarsheim in Alsace, which resembles that at Aix-la-Chapelle in so many particulars as to leave little doubt on the subject.

The shapeless brick outside of St Vitalis gives little promise of its sublime interior, its cupola, columnar tribunes, and the glorious mosaics which encrust its chancel and apse, endowing it with a splendour of which it has to a great extent been deprived.

The work, commenced in 526, was completed and consecrated about twenty years later by Maximianus, Archbishop of Ravenna from 546 to 556, in the presence of the Emperor Justinian and his consort Theodora,* Julianus, surnamed Argentarius, having directed the work.

The plan of St Vitalis is that of a foliated or lobed octagon within a straight-sided one, the diameter of the former being but 50 feet, while that of the latter is 110, so that the dome here is one-third less than what may, to a certain extent, be considered its prototype—that of the Minerva Medica; but so completely had the architect degenerated from the dome builders of Rome, that instead of the scientific construction of the above-named temple, this of Ravenna is wholly composed of earthen pots fixed into very solid mortar. The base of the dome is built of pottery taking the form of antique pitchers fitting one into the other and placed vertically.

The cap is similarly constructed, but with smaller pitchers bound by mortar; these earthenware vessels forming a continuous spiral line of great lightness, yet of a solidity proof against all accident.

The arches on which this central dome rests are supported on massive piers, and rise to the height of the top of the upper surrounding galleries or tribunes. Seven of these arches thus open into the tribune and the aisle below it by

*This ceremony is depicted in one of the grand mosaics which adorn the sanctuary.

a semicircular recessed colonnade in two stories, falling into the arch above by means of a semi-dome and vault. The eighth side protrudes into a quadripartitely vaulted chancel that interrupts the circuit of the aisle and gallery, and is prolonged into a sanctuary terminating in a much lower semicircular apsis.

St Vitalis is removed still further than Sta Sophia from the classic architectural tradition, none of its ornaments having been borrowed from the ancient monuments. Certain capitals are very distinctly reminiscent of the Corinthian, but the volutes and leafage are very far from being pure. Most of these capitals are square at the top, and assume by insensible gradations the circular form, sculptured trelliswork helping to redeem the poverty of the outline. On the smaller capitals, which are of the Corinthian order, we see sculptured anchors, that have suggested the tradition of their belonging to a temple of Neptune; on the larger, which are Byzantine, are relief monograms, twenty-eight in all, one of which has been read by some abecedarians as *Narses*, by others as *Nepos*, probably the name of the architect. The others are intelligible enough, as, e.g., *Ecclesius* and *Julianus*.

Like all Byzantine constructions St Vitalis has, in spite of its limited dimensions, an aspect of decided grandeur and character, and although a good deal was done in the *baroque* epoch to destroy the simplicity of the original effect of the building, there is a pleasing effect produced by alternating the piers with circular columns, and a lightness and elegance about the whole design that renders it unrivalled in the Western world among churches of its class; and it has not only served, as I have already remarked, as the model for Charlemagne's mausoleum at Aix-la-Chapelle, but for many



Ravenna: Interior of St. Vitalis.

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circular buildings of that age, which have, unfortunately, wholly or in part disappeared.

At the time of my visit St Vitalis was undergoing restoration and was, as regards its fittings, etc., in a state of *bouleversement*. It is to be hoped that the feeble pseudo-classical decorations with which it had been endowed will in due course disappear, and give place to works in mosaic which shall emulate those glorious sixth-century pictures which render the choir and apsidal sanctuary almost a gallery of ornamental art.

Upon the soffit of the chancel arch are fifteen medallions, containing life-size heads of the Apostles, with that of the Saviour on the summit and the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius below. Upon the left wall is a large picture—the figure almost life-size—of Abraham entertaining the "three men" in front of his tent on the "plains of Mamre." They are represented with wings like angels, and are seated at the table on which the "calf, tender and good," is laid before them. At the side Abraham stands "under the tree," and further to the left, at the tent door "which was behind him," stands Sarah. To the right of this picture is Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac, and looking up at a hand from the clouds pointing to the ram. An arch encloses these, and in the spandrels and space above there is at one side the Prophet Jeremiah, and at the other Moses receiving the Tables of the Law in the form of a scroll from a hand stretched out from the heavens, while below him stands a group of Israelites. Over the centre of the arch are floating angels bearing a circle containing a Latin cross. Above these again is an open arch, supported by pilasters and divided into three by columns with most exquisitely wrought Byzantine capitals. Upon the face of the right pilaster, and above the Moses

on Mount Sinai is St Luke, sitting in a rocky landscape, the ox beside him and the open volume of his Gospel bearing the words *Secundum Lucam*. On the other pilaster, and above the figure of Jeremiah, is St John with the eagle and his open Gospel in like manner. The space above is filled with lovely scroll work, and thence springs, without interruption, the mosaic ornamentation of the vault.

The central picture on the opposite wall shows a rocky landscape. In the foreground is a table covered with a white cloth, below which is one of violet extending to the ground, and upon the table a chalice in the centre, with a loaf of bread on either side. On the left of the table stands Abel with his arms extended over it, holding a lamb in both hands; and on the right Melchisedec, holding in the same manner a loaf of bread resembling those on the table. Melchisedec is draped in regal vestments of white with gold ornaments, and advances from a palatial edifice behind him. Abel, behind whom is a rustic hut, is clad in a kind of goatskin falling from one shoulder and leaving the limbs and upper part of his body bare. Above, following the arrangement on the opposite side, are the Prophet Isaiah; Moses taking off his shoes before the burning bush, his flock below him; and, on the upper pilasters, the Evangelists St Matthew and St Mark, with the emblematic angel and lion, and their open Gospels.

Beyond these the walls are occupied by the grand historical pictures of Justinian and Theodora with their suites to the right and left of the apse, wherein there is a grand figure of our Lord seated on the globe. On one side is an angel and the Archbishop Ecclesius, holding a model of a round church—a building with a circular nave, showing alternate windows and buttresses, lean-to roof, round cleres-



Ravenna: Sta. Maria in Porto Fuori

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tory with windows and a high conical roof ending in a large cross; on the other hand, an angel leads forward the martyr soldier Vitalis, to whom the church is dedicated. These figures are semi-colossal. In that of the "Majesty" the first object of the artist has evidently been to represent the Divinity in simple, solemn grandeur. The face is that of a godlike youth with richly clustered hair. The great globe on which he sits is azure blue. He is draped in an admirably arranged tunic and mantle, both of rich purple, without ornament, and His left hand rests on a bound volume, closed, with seven black bands and seals.

After coffee in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, I set off one afternoon for St Apollinaris in Classe, visiting on the way the imposing cruciform early classical church of Sta Maria in Porto, whose nave is supported on isolated Tuscan columns tapering at both ends.

A *detour* was also made for the purpose of inspecting the charming Sta Maria in Porto Fuori, with its wealth of fresco paintings of the school of Giotto.

I shall not readily forget the first impression received of St Apollinaris in Classe—that still noble though now forlorn sixth-century monument—as I approached it on a fine sunny breezy afternoon by a solitary road cleaving a vast marshy plain.

Mournful was the landscape, bounded westward by the distant Apennines in low but gracefully varied outlines, and to the east by the historic pine forest, extending as far as eye can see, as it separates the level maremma from the sea with its dense growth, and presenting the apparent solidity and regularity in form of another mountain chain.

Although June, yet even that joyous season could not

dispel the monotonous melancholy of the scene, thoroughly in harmony as it was with the great lone church.

When Ravenna was an important naval station, and the sea (now nearly six miles distant) only divided from her walls by the waters of a vast lagoon amidst which they rose, Augustus turned these local advantages to account by constructing a harbour capable of sheltering two hundred and fifty ships, called *Portus Classis*, between which and the city soon sprang up a populous suburb, or rather additional town, known as Cesarea.

The basilica of St Apollinaris, about two miles distant from the Ravenna of the present day, is the sole monument that retains merely in its name the records of that populous quarter, never restored after having been devastated by the Lombards in 728.

In the story of architecture this once magnificent church fills a conspicuous place, being described by Agincourt as "a new example of the blending of the form of the temple with that of the ancient basilica, in order to its adaptation for the rites and usages of the Church in early Christian periods." Considered the most perfect model of its class in Italy, St Apollinaris in Classe has, notwithstanding such high claims, been subjected to many and grievous outrages, from which it has only of late years emerged by careful restoration. In its neglected state it must have seemed a mournfully impressive type of the decline of that ancient Christian city itself, that pure and apostolic constitution of the Church of the first four centuries, over whose ruins the potent system of the Papacy has been constructed.

St Apollinaris—this basilica of Cesarea—was finished about 549 after rapid execution of the works under the direction of Julianus, the treasurer (*argentarius*) who here

ST. APOLLINARIS IN CLASSE, RAVENNA.

FROM THE NORTH-EAST. FROM A DRAWING BY SCOTSON CLARK.



represented the government of Justinian, and who had already founded the splendid octagonal church of St Vitalis within the city's ancient circuit. The atrium, which, with its porticoes, extended in front, has regrettably disappeared.

The nave, 130 feet long, is divided from its aisles by twenty-four columns of violet marble from Hymettus, forming a magnificent prelude to an apse covered with mosaics. Their Corinthian capitals are less elegant than elsewhere in Ravenna, and although based on examples at Thessalonica, the design and execution are due to inferior Greek sculptors. The responds of the arcades are decorated with ornament in plaster, which, if clumsy, is vigorous in treatment, and may have supplied the *motif* for the capitals of the court of the Town Hall at Bologna of the fourteenth century.

A flight of steps in the last bay of the nave leads directly to the apse whose conch retains its mosaics—probably ordered by the Archbishop Agnellus (553-566), and the most precious among art works still preserved here—in their olden and characteristic beauty.

In 596 a monastery was added to the church. In the ninth century restorations were effected by Pope Leo III, but in later times the work of spoliation began.

Many valuable mosaics perished; of more than fifty windows the greater number were ruthlessly blocked up; the pillared atrium was removed; the walls were stripped of the fine marble with which they were completely clothed, by order of Sigismund Malatesta, lord of Rimini, to which city those spoils were transferred in 1451.

The monastery was suppressed, its buildings left desolate from a period not, I believe, certain, some poor tenements occupying the remains of the cloistral appendages.

On the evening of my visit the only signs of life about

the place were some cocks and hens, who, in their own fashion, were enjoying themselves mightily in the unkempt piece of sunken grass land adjoining the church on its north side.

The exterior, plain and venerably simple, has no very remarkable features left to it save the high cylindrical campanile that towers up grandly at the north-east angle, and a vast and lofty western porch once connected with the now completely vanished atrium.

Still, the effect, as one enters the nave, has an almost unearthly grandeur and beauty, not altogether obliterated by the sad vicissitudes the building has passed through.

The portraits of archbishops in medallions still look down in solemn company from above the arcades; not more than three altars (probably the usual number, if indeed more than one was admitted in basilicas of the same period) are seen, each surmounted by a richly moulded marble canopy, in the perspective beyond the files of pillars—except one other, isolated in the nave, and evidently of more recent date. Small and cubic in form, it bears an inscription telling how St Apollinaris twice appeared on this spot, and thence proceeded to cense the holy place, visible during his vigils to the youthful St Romuald, and enjoining him to devote himself to a religious life before that step had been taken by the founder of the Camaldulese Order. Eight marble sarcophagi, the tombs of archbishops, in the aisles, present examples of early Christian symbolism in their relief ornaments. The portraits of those prelates, in the nave of mosaic, in the aisles of fresco painting, have been completed in succession down to recent times, and below, between and in the reveals of the windows, are some fine mosaic pictures representing Constantine Pogonatus and his brother bestowing a privilegium on Bishop Reparatus about 670, in

which the deacons all wear long surplices reaching to the feet, and with wide sleeves. There are also figures of SS. Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus, Urcisinus, all in albs and with *pallia*.

On the half-dome of the apse the Transfiguration is represented. In the centre is a Latin cross within an ellipsis; at the junction of the arms is the head of our Lord, and near the ends of the transverse beams are the letters A and Ω, and at the foot of the cross is the inscription "Salus Mundi." Above is a hand appearing from the clouds, and at the sides Moses and Elias. Lower down are three sheep, symbolical of SS. Peter, James and John. Still lower down is St Apollinaris with his arms extended and six sheep on each side of him. He has a nimbus, and is vested in a long white dalmatic on which are purple clavi, an oval chasuble, a white pallium and white shoes with black crosses on them. He is represented as an aged man with tonsure and beard.

On the face of the arch are the two cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, with twelve sheep ascending from them. Higher up is the half-figure of Christ in a circular medallion, nimbed, and with the right hand raised in the act of blessing according to the Greek form. At His right side are the symbols of SS. John and Matthew, and at His left those of SS. Mark and Luke.

Opposite the mosaic of the Privilegia are shown the sacrifices of Abel, Melchisedec and Abraham, and an altar is represented in perspective, its most noticeable feature being its table form, covered with a white embroidered cloth and having on it a two-handled cup, and two other ornaments, which, it may not unreasonably be supposed, are meant for patens.

In these mosaics at St Apollinaris, as well as in those at St

Vitalis and the archiepiscopal palace, classic influence, in the common acceptance of the term, is no longer recognizable. It has given place to the realistic, bearing in fact the impress of the time when they were executed. Instead of reflecting Pagan art traditions, glorified by Christian sentiment, as visible in the picture of the Good Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, they demonstrate how fully artists had become imbued with the spirit both of the Old and the New Testament histories, and how completely it had taken the place of that imparted by the earlier myths. The very rare use of silver leaf tesseræ occurs in these works. I also learnt that mother-of-pearl, ivory and egg-shell also were used, but for the truth of the last-named I am unable to vouch; certainly I could find no traces of it when at Ravenna twelve months ago.

Ere my studies at St Apollinaris in Classe were concluded, the shades of evening had begun to fall.

For a few moments I stood watching the last gleam of the setting sun on the Apennines from beneath the western portico, the awful stillness of the environing marshy landscape being alone broken by the continual croaking of frogs, to whose music, as I retraced my steps along the straight, monotonous road, I wedded Martial's line:

Meliusque ranæ garriunt Ravennates.*

On approaching the city I fell in with the boys of the Cathedral School, who, in their cassocks, purple sashes and shovel hats, were taking an evening constitutional under the surveillance of several ecclesiastics. All responded very politely to my salutation.

Having watched the party go by, I struck into some

*Ravenna's frogs in better measure croak.



Ravenna: Interior of St. Apollinaris in Classe, looking East.

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meadows on the eastern side of the city commanding a view of the old campanili, from which the last flush of sunset was fading to leave them cold and grey once more; and, throwing myself upon a grassy bank, drew from my pocket an old number of *The Dublin Review* containing an article by Cardinal Wiseman on Ravenna, a short extract from which may fitly conclude this chapter:

"Whoever loves early Christian monuments, whoever desires to see them in greater perfection than the lapse of fourteen centuries would warrant us in expecting, whoever desires to study them unaided by the remains of heathen antiquity, should make every effort to spend some days at least in this noble and imperial city. From Rome it differs mainly in this, that your meditations are not disturbed by the constant recurrence of pagan remains, nor your researches perplexed by the necessity of inquiring what was built and what was borrowed by the faithful. Ravenna has only one antiquity, and that is Christian.

"Seated, like Rome, in the midst of an unhealthy, desolate plain, except when its unrivalled pine forests cast a shade of deeper solitude and melancholy over it—quiet and lonely, without the sound of wheels upon its grass-grown pavement—it has not merely to lament over the decay of ancient magnificence, but upon its total destruction, except what religion has erected for herself. She was not in time to apply her saving as well as purifying unction to the basilicas and temples of receding ages; or rather, she seemed to occupy what she could replace, and therefore, in the strength of imperial favour, raised new buildings for the Christian worship such as no other city but Rome could boast of."

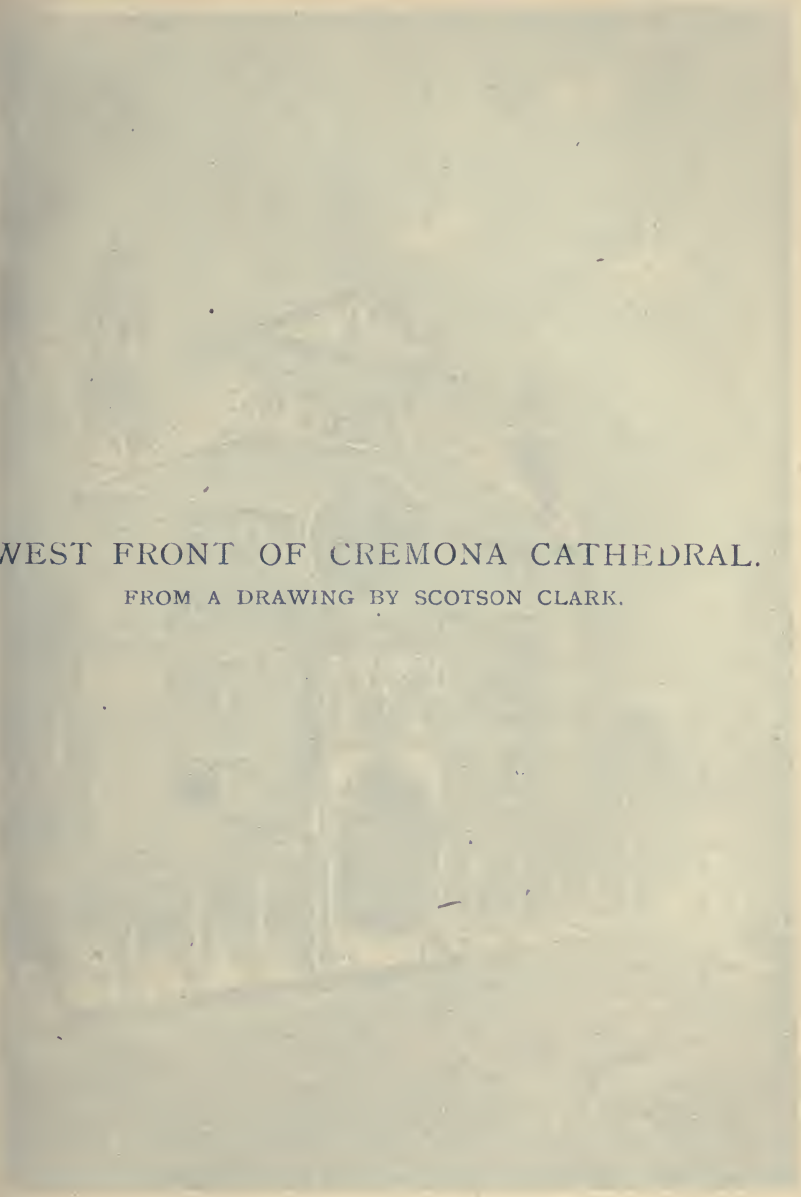
CHAPTER IX

Some Lombard Cathedrals and Churches—Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Cremona, Pavia

MANY people start on their travels under the impression that, in leaving England for Italy, they are quitting a land of brick for a land of marble; if not morally and spiritually, yet as certainly in the material structure of its houses and churches.

No sooner do they cross the Alps than they become convinced of their mistake. The nature of the country at once explains the cause. Lombardy, that lies stretched across the top of Italy, with the Alps to the north, the Apennines to the south, is, to speak broadly, one rich, flat alluvial plain. With the splendid marble quarries of Carrara, much more accessible to them than were the stone quarries of Normandy to ourselves, the early church builders of North Italy, either with less zeal or more originality than our own ancestors, did not think it worth their while to send to neighbouring countries for the material of their churches. They moulded the native clay under their feet to their purpose, and sanctified the coarseness of the material by the beauty of form into which they worked it.

One of the earliest Lombard examples, St Michele at Pavia, is indeed altogether stone and marble, at least externally, and no one who looks upon its rude, sculptured front and massive pillars within can fail to recognize here the source of our own Norman architecture—so much more clearly traceable in this early specimen than in the later and more finished erections of the Lombards.



WEST FRONT OF CREMONA CATHEDRAL.

FROM A DRAWING BY SCOTSON CLARK.



But after this early and, if I mistake not, unique example, the use of brick becomes universally prevalent; at first in alternate stripes of brick and stone as in the Cathedral at Verona, then brick with marble columns and ornaments as in the Campanile of St Gothardo, then entirely of brick as at St Michele, Cremona, and St Ambrose, Milan.

If we have a doubt that so rude and cheap a material is unsuited to the dignity and costliness becoming the house of God, we are soon convinced that the prejudice is unfounded when we perceive the beauty into which this material has been wrought in Lombard architecture; and those who know, even by pictures only, the leaning towers of Bologna and the cloisters of the Certosa near Pavia, must acknowledge that their picturesqueness of form and beauty of colour have seldom been surpassed by the most elaborate workmanship of stone and marble.

It is from Lombardy that we have drawn the capabilities and development of brick. How exquisitely do those tall red campanili adorn the flat and otherwise monotonous plains from which they spring! They are often only receptacles for a single bell, three or four at most—for a peal of bells is peculiar to Merry England—and this accounts for their exceeding slimness and great height in comparison to the square of their base. The proportions of many of these bell towers are ten times the square of their sides; and up to this height they run in an uninterrupted plain square tower of panelled brickwork, unbroken either by window or ornament, crowned as a rule by an open arcade and capped by a stunted pyramidal roof.

Were it my intention to advocate an anachronistic revival of any art form, I should unhesitatingly recommend the thorough study of the exquisitely elegant forms of Italian

Romanesque architecture. Then, as at present, the artists of the ecclesiastical Transition style were still seeking, without clear consciousness, some corresponding forms to express the higher spiritual tendencies of Christianity. Dissatisfied with the current blending of classic and Byzantine elements, they were inspired by some unknown ideal, by some incomprehensible longing to find a new style. The very language of the Latin race underwent a great change. The material was furnished, as in architecture, by the Greeks and Romans. The old roots were kept, but the periods, the inflections, were borrowed from the victorious Teuton spirit. The Latin declensions and conjugations were simplified, or altogether discarded, the weightier sounds changed into softer and more sonorous ones, and an admixture of old Teuton and Roman founded the rapidly developing Italian tongue.

In perfect analogy with this lingual change, the architects during the ninth and tenth centuries began to construct in a different style, altering what was too difficult, and omitting what they did not understand, of the old Christian style, imitating only so much as was strictly suitable. Thus the old basilica of early Christian architecture was, by degrees, transformed into the Romanesque church. Capitals and mouldings still bore some reminiscences of classicism, but the ornamentation was executed more in the spirit of wood carving, and architecture took up forms of construction, rather in harmony with the use of brick and wood than with that of stone. To say that the Romanesque style was purely imitative is fallacious. The Byzantine elements were ignored, and the basilica underwent a thorough process of transformation.

The change began in the interior. The choir was made more imposing by the addition of a square space before the apse; the plan of the foundation assumed the cruciform one, and crypts, in some instances entered directly from the nave, were constructed, thereby adding greatly to the dignity of the most sacred part of the building. Already in the old basilica the use of arches admitted of greater distances between the pillars, which were placed still further apart in the Romanesque. The distances of the columns were either exactly or nearly half the breadth of the central nave, thus producing a rhythmical effect that created a powerful impression, and bringing the opposite columns into an harmonious union.

This change brought about another. The flat wall superstructure, the flat wood encoffered ceiling, was in no way connected with the supporting arches.

In the Italo-Romanesque, the free column was replaced by the massive pillar, and the wall, brought into close connexion with the foundation, was broken only by arched openings, so as to connect, through their mighty arches, the side aisles with the central nave.

The columns were still used, not only to ornament the pillars, but as marked supports of the projecting cornices and principal arched mouldings. The columns were doubly necessary, when the aisles became arched. First, only the two side aisles received the cross-vault, but at a later period the central aisle was also vaulted. In France and Italy, and in certain parts of Germany, galleries or " Emporia " were constructed above the side aisles—in the last-named country at least to separate the males from the females of the congregation, as is still the custom in the Oriental Church. The plan of the pillars became complex, and was

the root of the deeply moulded arches and the essence of the whole construction.

The roof rested on lofty attached columns, and formed a vaulted crown.

These forms are neither classically antique nor Gothic; they constitute the transition from one style to another.

The Romanesque is not a more or less close imitation of the features of the Roman architecture, nor is there in this style what Dr Whewell termed "a predominance of vertical lines," for one has only to glance at a view of the Church of St Apollinaris in Classe at Ravenna, and then at one of St Zeno at Verona, or St Michele at Pavia, to see that the striving up vertical lines markedly predominate.

The style of this tenth- to thirteenth-century period has many advantages.

The forms are simple, and if not always graceful, the expression is clear, decided, and produces a feeling of repose perfectly in accordance with the earnest religious sentiment of the day. The solemn strains of a plain song psalm or hymn pervade the architecture of such a structure as St Ambrose at Milan, or of those grouped in this chapter, and to which the above remarks may be taken as prefatory—the Cathedrals of Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Cremona and St Michele at Pavia.

Like the Rhenish Germans, the Italians of the Lombard plains abandoned this grand transitional style just when it was at its richest and best, yet still capable of fresh developments, to embrace the complete Gothic style, which they never understood, and which consequently never took root in Italy. Several varieties and distinct schools may be found, and capable of certain rules and arrange-



Modena: West front of the Cathedral.

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ments, but they never seem to have succeeded wholly in throwing off the influence of classical examples.

The great Cathedral of Milan, magnificent as it is, will scarcely bear the test of the principles of genuine Gothic; whilst the really pure Gothic church of Assisi—that storehouse of Christian art—is known to have been designed by a German, Jacopo Tedesco.

The influence of the Lombards in Italy and the iconoclastic rupture of the eighth century, by which a multitude of Greek artists were scattered over the Continent, gave a new impulse to Western Europe.

Italy became politically independent of the Byzantine Empire, and the Church of Rome thenceforward independent of that at Constantinople. A more advanced style of architecture, with a complete and connected system of forms, soon prevailed wherever the Latin Church spread its influence, and an associated body of freemasons powerfully contributed to its diffusion over Europe.

It has been called Lombardic, or, perhaps more conveniently, Romanesque. Connected by the basilica of Western Europe with the buildings destined for the same purpose in the East; it forms a connecting link between the classic and the purely Pointed Gothic styles of architecture.

Grand as these Romanesque churches of the Lombard plains are in the mass, they are not faultless. Their flat walls are frequently monotonous; their interiors are but ill-lighted, in some places obscure, in others flooded with a glaring light; the distribution of the decorative element is not always happy, porches, pillars and capitals being overcrowded with variegated patterns, intermingled with empty, unadorned walls. They impress us too powerfully

with the unsettled state of the minds of those who designed them. The cowls of the religious and the heavy armour of the warrior may be traced in them.

They reflect likewise the convulsions of the times; a people under the influence of an empty ecclesiastical formalism, and longing for freedom; pride in the mighty walls, humility in the compressed pillars; a powerful and unbroken sense of independence in the rich ornamentation, a striving for new forms in the conflicting details, which are half pagan, half Christian.

Tennyson, who viewed these old Lombardic Romanesque cathedrals and churches under depressing atmospherical conditions, thus alludes to them in his poem *The Daisy:**

> But when we crost the Lombard plain
> Remember what a plague of rain ;
> Of rain at Reggio, rain at Parma,
> At Lodi rain, Piacenza rain.
>
> And stern and sad (so rare the smiles
> Of sunlight) looked the Lombard piles;
> Porch-pillars on the lion resting
> And sombre, old colonnaded aisles.

It was five o'clock in the morning of the "Corpus Domini," which fell last year on the fourteenth of June, when I set out from Ravenna on a little tour amid that group of old Lombardic Romanesque churches that has

* A very dainty piece of craftsmanship which gives special character to this exquisite poem. The suggestion for this curious quatrain most probably came from Fitzgerald's famous Persian measure. At any rate we have here the same arrangement of rhyme with the third line blank. But with a fine subtlety Tennyson lightens the movement of that solemn metre by the introduction of a two-syllabled ending in the third verse, which gives to the eight-syllabled iambic a feminine ending, and by altering the run of the fourth line by a dactyl somehow cunningly let in among the iambics.

served as a peg whereon to hang the foregoing remarks. The newly risen sun was just gilding the tops of the domes and steeples; few people were abroad; and such outward and visible signs that the day was to be made a high festival of, as banners, festoons, draped balconies and window-sills, and reposoirs for the Blessed Sacrament, were nowhere to be seen. Nor did Bologna, where I had a wait of a few hours, before a train could be got for Modena, present a more festive appearance.

At St Petronio there was High Mass, with orchestral accompaniment, which could not be enjoyed on account of the incessant fidgeting of the congregation, trafficking in chairs, promenading up and down the aisles, in at one door and out at another, and so on. I therefore repaired to the Cathedral, where numberless guilds and confraternities assembled for the out-door procession, which started forth to a lively air played by a band stationed just outside, as soon as the Cardinal Archbishop had arrived and was vested, which took up a considerable time. To an English eye there were numerous incongruities, and the absence of good, hearty singing made the whole thing fall very flat; but the prelate carrying the monstrance beneath a silken canopy was a picture in itself.

Modena

It was at Modena that I got my first glimpse of the genuine Lombard form of the Italian Romanesque, a form quite unlike either the domical or the basilican type, which makes a far nearer approach to the Northern Romanesque of Bamberg and Cologne, of Neuss and Werden; indeed the three eastern apses with their open arcades rising between pinnacled turrets of quite a Nor-

thern character transported one to the banks of the Rhine. The Lombards had but little art of their own. Roman and Greek architects built their early churches and ministered to their more primitive tastes. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries the dynamic superiority of the Teutons in politics and religion, in architecture and plastic art, quickly developed and spread over Europe; and although Modena Cathedral is, taken in the mass, a strictly Italian church, yet the approaches to Northern forms are so very marked that they suggest the direct imitation of Northern forms in the employment of Teutonic architects.

The present Cathedral dates from very early in the twelfth century, the old one having fallen, or threatened to fall, towards the close of the eleventh; this date would make it almost contemporary with the other great Romanesque cathedrals of Cremona, Parma and Piacenza, which, at any rate as regards plan, it greatly resembles. The original architect at Modena was "a certain Lanfrancus, a wonderful builder," who, as the old chronicles inform us, "was at length found to design so great a work." In 1106 the crypt was ready to receive the body of St Geminianus, but after this the works appear to have hung fire, seventy-eight years elapsing ere the church was completed and consecrated.

The plan of Modena Cathedral is a parallel-triapsidal rectangle, a hundred and ninety feet long by about seventy feet broad, and its material is brick faced externally with marble, of a reddish hue, except at the west end, where it is a beautiful greyish white. Longitudinally, the church has five great divisions, the four western ones being marked externally by gables rising a little above the



Modena: South Side of the Cathedral.

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red-tiled roofs, and further accentuated by the shallow buttress, which, introduced between each pair of round-headed windows in the clerestory, is prolonged down the lean-to roofs of the aisles.

The other salient points in the southern elevation of Modena Cathedral, which bears a great resemblance to the less well-preserved one at Ferrara, are the tall shallow arcades, enclosing, high up in the wall, three smaller ones, and without which the composition would appear monotonous; the porches, one with its pillars resting on the backs of couchant beasts, and each with that peculiar Lombardic feature, the recessed *loggia* or *pronaos*, above the entrance; the manner in which the shallow arcades aforesaid are continued alongside the somewhat higher choir, and where the gable which assumes the place of the lean-to roof gives the impression that the architect had not quite made up his mind whether or no to project a transept, and thus halted between two opinions; the small windows in the basement of this *soidisant* transept which light the crypt; the picturesquely corbelled pulpit; the pretty, deeply moulded, and octofoiled circle in the centre of the gable, and the plate-traceried two-light window below it, both indicating a desire for the more sparkling contours of the Pointed Gothic.

All these features combine to make up an elevation, which, if of modest dimensions, is as charming as any of its own age and class in Lombardy.

On the north side of the Cathedral, but separated by the width of a lane, stands the loveliest of North Italian campaniles, which has probably earned its title of Ghirlandina from the graceful arcades and balcony curiously introduced towards the summit of its octagonal spire.

This spire, together with the lantern from which it springs, shows the hand of the fourteenth-century Gothic and of the early Renaissance architects. Each has certainly done his best to make these additions synchronize with the early sub-structure. A wall pierced with an archway surmounted by a passage connects the campanile with the body of the Cathedral. Some carving in the doorway on this side of the church, representing the months, will engage the student of iconography, as will those in the western façade, which shows the same system of mural arcuation as the aisles. Unlike the usual Lombard screen-like west front with its low-pitched gable, such as we see at Parma, Piacenza, Pavia, St Ambrose, Milan and elsewhere, this of Modena Cathedral is more truthful as it exposes the clerestory and lean-to aisles. The four orders of moulding in the great central wheel window, which contains some fragments of ancient stained glass, are noteworthy from the variety of their treatment.

Solemn Vespers of the *Corpus Domini* were about to commence when I passed from all the glory of the afternoon sunshine into the Cathedral. As I set foot within the nave, where the first thing that attracted my wandering gaze was a black poodle dog, shaved in the most approved fashion, and calmly seated on the steps of one of the side altars, the organ struck up a solemn piece, and the officiants—three priests and two choir rulers, all in cloth of gold copes—came slowly forth from the sacristy.

Advancing up the dusky northern aisle, I mounted the stately *escalier* at the end of it, and took my station close to the parclose screen of the choir, ready to assist at the service. A small one-manual organ—the only instrument the Cathedral boasts—stood on the floor against the northern

wall of the quasi-transept, and about it was stationed a choir of men who sang the psalms in concerted parts under the baton of an ecclesiastic, while the antiphons were chanted to the plain song by the clergy in the apse of the high choir. The latter got a trifle flat, causing the faces of the outside choir, who by the way were in the garb of every-day life, to exhibit tokens of risibility, while sundry winks and nudges which passed between them had anything but an ecclesiastical appearance. The Office hymn, the *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* sung to its proper ancient melody, was very enjoyable, but at the conclusion of the *Magnificat* the individuals in plain clothes above mentioned decamped, leaving the inside choir to get on as best they might, and making a good deal of unnecessary clatter as they descended the steps and went out along the aisle, through whose open west door the sunlight playing on the pavement of the piazza in front of the Cathedral produced a most charming effect.

To an English Churchman, accustomed to the dignity and reverence of his own services, it was by no means pleasing to observe that not one of these people knelt for a few moments in private prayer before retiring, to thank God for that opportunity of attending Him in His holy house and service.

With this exception, however, the service was a decorous and beautiful one, and at its conclusion I turned to enjoy a leisurely inspection of the solemn structure in which it had just been celebrated, and about whose domical vaults the incense wreaths yet lingered.

It was pleasant, on entering Modena Cathedral, to find an elevation more nearly after the Northern type than anything which I had yet seen in Italy. Pisa has an arcade,

triforium and clerestory, but the triforium is not so much of the Northern type itself as the Northern type translated into Italian language.

Here, however, I beheld a triforium—somewhat rude and awkward, as if the arch containing the three arcades had been crushed by the loftier clerestory above. Each of the four great Pointed vaulting bays into which the nave at Modena is divided, comprises two lesser round-arched ones, the capitals of their isolated marble columns, and of the attached brick ones, which either form the responds of these coupled nave arcades or support the intermediate arches of the simple quadripartite vaulting, being a curious mingling of classical and barbaric forms.

There is no floor to the triforium gallery, nor could I discover any traces of there having been one; consequently the aisles of Modena Cathedral are of unusual height, an arched corbel table dividing their walls at the level of the capitals of the half-columns which support the transverse brick arches.

This opening of the triforium arcade into the aisles, as at Rochester and Rouen Cathedrals, has a very singular appearance. The Modena arrangement would appear to have furnished the motif for a similar one at the imposing red-brick church of St Columba, Kingsland Road, London,* where the most westerly clerestory window on the north side of the nave, in lieu of being glazed, looks into a cleverly contrived transept.

Another noteworthy feature of the interior of Modena Cathedral is the absence of horizontal lines, there being no

* One of a most remarkable group of churches erected in the north-eastern districts of the metropolis, from the designs of the late James Brooks, between 1860 and 1870.



Modena: Nave of the Cathedral, looking East.

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string-course to either triforium or clerestory. The consequence is, that the arcades and windows appear as though they were merely pierced in the mass of red brickwork. Another detail is the small corbel just above the coupled round-headed windows of the clerestory, from which the two wall arches in each bay spring, pointing to the probability that the vaulting was to have been a sexpartite one, i.e., with six cells, instead of the four we now see. The Cathedral was originally designed with a wooden roof, like St Miniato at Florence and St Zeno at Verona, so that the present vaulting is a subsequent addition, manifest from the awkward way in which it interferes with the clerestory windows, and there being no provision for the diagonal ribs, these corbels were placed for their reception.

The open lantern is wanting at Modena, and the crossing is unmarked by any deviation from the vaulting of the nave.

The choir, from which the shallow transepts open, and the short apsidal recess beyond, have an unusually dignified appearance from their elevation upon the crypt, which extends under the whole of the church beyond the nave. Such is the elevation of this crypt that the capitals of the columns supporting the two easternmost arches of the nave arcade are on a level with the floor of the choir.

Originally the choir was approached from the nave by a flight of steps as at Parma, but at a later period these were removed, and the present graceful kind of porch with its pillars of varied form supporting a balcony, introduced probably with the view of giving additional floor space to the choir. The crypt, hitherto concealed, was now exposed to the nave, and a staircase to the choir con-

structed at the east end of either aisle with hand rails supported on gracefully sculptured pillarets.

Two of the central columns in the outermost range which support this added balcony, are, together with the lintel, rich in sculpture, and rest on the shoulders of men who crouch between the shaft and its base, while the whole is supported by a couchant beast, under which is the crushed and prostrate figure of a helmeted knight with shield and lance.

Beneath this deep gallery three arches open into the crypt. They are fitted with metal grilles and gates, and on the walls flanking them are two panels of sculptured subjects, one illustrating the evangelistic symbols, and the other seated figures of the Latin doctors, while above each panel hovers the figure of an angel.

The crypt extends under the choir, transepts and aisles, and, although not vast, presents picturesque avenues of slender pillars, which at its widest part form an arcade of nine openings.

In that portion of the crypt corresponding to the apse are fluted and apparently modern pillars, in all probability introduced to sustain the superincumbent weight of a heavy high altar and altar-piece, which latter has disappeared to give place to decorations in harmony with the environing architecture. The semi-dome of the apse is painted with the Coronation of the Virgin; the frieze contains busts, and between the three round-headed windows are full-length figures, the whole forming an impressive *comble* to the view from the west door. So fascinated was I with the interior of Modena Cathedral that I paid it several enraptured visits, some fresh beauty of form or detail presenting itself at every successive one. My last round



Modena Cathedral: Entrance to Crypt.

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was made as darkness fell, and just about the time of closing, while an earthy-looking old sacristan, and eke a thirsty soul for centimes and liras, made the circuit of the building, snuffing out with his fingers the tapers that had been flaring and guttering all day before statues and pictures, finally snuffing himself from a box in his waistcoat pocket.

Parma

From Modena I journeyed to Parma, through those endless Lombardy plains whose fertility nothing can exceed. They are hundreds of miles of uninterrupted garden. The same eternal level road; the same rows of trees and poplars on either side; the same long slimy canals; the same square, vine-laced, stream-intersected and perfectly green pastures and cornfields, where, although only mid-June, harvesting was in operation; the same shaped houses; the same shaped churches, with their everlasting cupolas and campanili. But they are wearisome, these Lombard plains, spite of so much luxuriance and the nightingales, —who sing by *day* however, as not specified in poetry; they are up quite as early as the lark, and the green hedges are alive with their gurgling and changeful music till twilight. At night, the hedges and fields are perfectly illuminated by fireflies, whom I found really quite companionable during a subsequent solitary and tedious ride from Parma to Piacenza, when I might as well have tried the poetical impossibility of "reading by the glow-worm's light" as endeavour to see anything by the finger glass which dimly illuminated the long third-class railway carriage.

As the train passed through Reggio I recollected it was here that Horace Walpole and Thomas Gray, whose companionship he had made amid the classic groves of Eton

and Cambridge, parted in resentment. They were making the recognized grand tour of France and Italy together, the poet wandering with delight amid the ruins of the great past; the *connoisseur* ransacking the old curiosity shops of Rome and Florence in search of rare pictures and choice medallions, such as in later days he piled up in dainty confusion under the roof of Strawberry Hill.

The future author of the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* was shy in manners and absorbed in literature, while his more opulent companion lived in society, and only dabbled in antiquities for pleasure's sake.

Their tastes being dissimilar, it is no wonder that the two friends quarrelled and separated after some time.

Walpole, in after years, took the blame of the differences on himself, and it is generally believed that the quarrel arose from his laying too much stress on his superiority in position. This was in 1741; three years later the two friends were reconciled, but the breach was not cemented.

Within a few minutes of my arrival at the comfortable Albergo della Posta at Parma, I found myself on the retired Piazza, where the Cathedral, Campanile, Baptistery and Renaissance Church of St Giovanni stand clustered in noble and magnificent repose.

The largest of all Lombard Romanesque churches, the Duomo of Parma was rebuilt on an old foundation after an earthquake, which laid in ruins a building dating from the sixth century. The present noble structure was begun in 1060, and was sufficiently advanced to be consecrated in 1106. In plan it is both parallel and transverse apsidal; that is to say, the transepts, which rise to the full height of the nave and choir are apsidal as well as the aisle on either side of the deep eastern limb. In the view from the south-



Parma: The Cathedral and Campanile.

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east—in which, by the way, the apse terminating the south aisle of the choir is not visible, having been built into a modern addition—nothing can be more imposing than the effect of the east end and the well-developed transept joining to support the central octagonal lantern and cupola, all exhibiting the richest and best Lombardic variety of that very protean style, the Romanesque; while the west front, if deficient in the elegance and sculpturesque detail of that at Modena, is grand from its stern simplicity, recalling the Pavian façades of St Michele and St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro as its prototypes. As a whole the Cathedral at Parma is more distinctly Italian than Modena.

The nave has seven bays placed between a greater and a lesser vaulting pier and arch, alternately. The lesser vaulting shafts are not, however, carried down to the ground, but rest upon the capitals of the compound columns, supporting the arches which open into the aisles. Here the triforium consists of four arcades to each bay, all of the same height, and above them are oblong wall spaces, intended by the architect for pictorial enrichment. Some of the pillarets in this triforium arcade at Parma exhibit carving quite classical in feeling. The clerestory windows are single round-headed ones; the arch spanning the nave transversely at the distance of each attached pier is round, while the ribs of the quadripartite vaulting are pointed: and the whole is gorgeous in Renaissance fresco painting, which, to the lover of pure early Gothic forms, has a disturbing effect. The string-course, a feature absent at Modena in the elevation of the interior, is at Parma a conspicuous one, being introduced between the pier arches and the triforium arcade, and at the spring of the vault. In the capitals of the columns supporting the nave arcades

we can discern that grotesqueness mingled with serious realism, of which Ruskin has drawn so vivid a picture in the following passage from his *Stones of Venice:*

"The Lombard of early times seems to have been exactly what a tiger would be if you could give him love of a joke, vigorous imagination, strong sense of justice, fear of hell, knowledge of northern mythology, a stone den and a mallet and chisel. Fancy him pacing up and down the said den to digest his dinner, and striking on the wall with a new fancy in his head at every turn, and you have the Lombard sculptor."

Yet with all the rudeness which marks them, these sculptured capitals in the nave of the Duomo at Parma are instinct with virility, force of imagination and Northern energy and wildness. The people who carved them carved what was in their minds, and the spirit of their work bears a close resemblance to the grotesque sculpture of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Northern Gothic.

The whole of the church beyond the western arch of the lantern is raised upon a crypt, the finest in Lombardy, the broad flight of seventeen steps necessitated by such an arrangement, and which occupy the whole of the easternmost pier arch on either side, imparting much dignity and interest to this noble interior, besides showing us what the original arrangement was like at Modena. Similar flights lead up from the aisles to the transepts, whence the views across the church in any direction are remarkably fine. The whole of the transepts and choir, internally, evince the unsparing hand of an architect of the Renaissance, nor is it possible to praise the painting with which the nave and aisles have been bedaubed. Though aiming at medievalism, it is not severe enough to be in harmony with the

architectural details. In fact this grand Lombard church has been entirely ruined by these paintings, which have been applied without the slightest thought of the requirements of the building, and as a matter of course they militate very severely against its effects.

Correggio's "Assumption of the Virgin," completely covers, but, in its present condition, cannot be said to improve the lantern and dome above the four arches of the great crossing. It is chiefly remarkable for its chiaroscuro, for its wonderful foreshortenings, and for the extensive range in the size of the figures, in order to convey, by their perspective diminution, an impression of great space.

So little was this astonishing effort of Correggio's genius appreciated by the ignorant ecclesiastics who employed him in its execution, that not only was the performance treated with contempt and ridicule—one of their body, in allusion to the fact that many more limbs than bodies are visible from below telling him that he had made *un guazzetto di rane*, a " hash of frogs "—but the artist himself with contumely; and what is the more to be lamented, his labours were not only scandalously underpaid, but became the very cause of his untimely decease. Not content with verbally depreciating his work, the illiberality of the canons, his employers, showed itself in refusing him the stipulated price, and in compelling him to accept the paltry sum of five hundred crowns, which, the more to hurt his feelings, was paid in copper. Returning with this sum to his starving family, the heat of the weather and the weight of his load, conspired to overcome the unfortunate artist, who imprudently quenching his thirst at a spring of cold water on the road, a pleurisy ensued, which carried him off in his fortieth year. Among those of the profession

who more especially did justice to the genius and execution of Correggio, were Annibal Caracci and Titian; the former about half a century after his decease, not only speaking in the highest terms of his abilities but making him his model, while to the latter we are perhaps indebted for the preservation of the magnificent painting which was the cause of his premature death. Accidentally passing through Parma, he stopped to see and to admire it, at a time when the ecclesiastics, whose taste in the fine arts does not appear to have been improved in the interval, were about to efface it. Titian, who is said to have parodied Alexander's speech to Diogenes, and to have declared that "If he were not Titian, he would desire to be Correggio," diverted these holy Vandals from their intention.

In this "Assumption" at Parma, Correggio has imagined that the drum of the cupola embraces the space on earth in which stood the sepulchre of the Virgin.

For this purpose, upon the octagon itself, from which the vault springs, runs a balustrade, above which rises a candelabrum at each of the eight angles, with a number of boys between engaged in lighting tapers or burning incense and odoriferous herbs. On the balustrade, as in Guilio Romano's picture of the same subject in the apse of Verona Cathedral, and in front of the base of the cupola, stand the Apostles, looking upwards with astonishment, as if dazzled by the light of the celestial host who transport the Virgin; and above, heaven appears open to receive her. The angel Gabriel descends to meet her, and the several hierarchies of the blessed circle around him. In the pendentives of the cupola—the only portion of the work seen in the accompanying illustration—are represented the four Protectors of the city of Parma—St Hilary, look-



Parma Nave of the Cathedral, looking East.

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ing down upon it with an expression of kindness and protection; St Bernard, kneeling and imploring pity on its behalf; St Thomas, attended by angels, some bearing exotic fruits, emblematical of the Apostle's labours in India; and St John the Baptist, holding a lamb, while angels dart around, as it were, through clouds.

At first, and seen from below, this work appears extremely confused, but with great amenity of colours. Professor Phillips attributed this confusion to the destruction of the colours and consequent relief of the parts, and the blotches of white produced where the plaster has fallen, to the insufficient roofing of the dome.

The Baptistery commenced in 1196 by Benedetto Antelami, stands a little to the south-west of the Duomo, and is perhaps one of the grandest in Italy, its details shewing the widest departure from anything to which we are used north of the Alps; yet it illustrates those false principles of design which protrude themselves in every point of a building of its age in that country. Externally it is an octagon, six stories in height, the four upper ones being merely used to conceal a dome covered by a low-pitched wooden roof.

In most of the stages, within and without, the ornamental arcade has been rejected for the ornamental colonnade, the pillarets supporting an entablature, instead of a range of round or pointed arches, by which means a decided air of squareness and horizontality is imparted to the mass. Externally, the material is white marble, while within, the attached shafts supporting the ribs of the dome vault are alone of a costly nature, the walls to a great extent being left in their naked brick.

In each cardinal side of the octagon except the east is a

round-headed doorway, rich in sculpture and most interesting iconographically. Within the tympanum of the northern doorway is the Epiphany, while immediately below it, in the lintel, are three subjects from the life of St John the Baptist. In the sides of this doorway the Genealogy of our Lord, or *Radix Jesse*, is minutely sculptured. The tympanum of the western portal exhibits the Last Judgement, which subject is continued into the lintel, the imposts bearing small groups illustrative of the Miracles and the Corporal Works of Mercy. In the southern doorways the sculpture, which, as far as I could decipher it, represents the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and a crowned head of our Lord between the Baptist and the Agnus Dei, is confined to the tympanum and lintel.

Over the entrance to a house opposite this doorway I read, *Heic albo inscribuntur nomina neophytorum.*

Within, the Baptistery has sixteen sides, partly panelled in tall arcades of round arches, and two rows of colonnades similar to those employed externally, and between each of these sixteen sides is a slender shaft from which the ribs of the dome spring with an effect truly graceful from their classic character.

This Baptistery at Parma is a collegiate church, having a chapter of six canons and a provost, besides inferior officers, and as it is furnished with an altar and stalls, presents, with its frescoed walls and dome, an appearance of great richness and splendour. The original font is a huge octagon of yellowish red marble, enclosing the usual quatrefoiled compartment for the officiant. A smaller font, or, at least, what is now used as such, and which stands in a corner of the Baptistery, has arabesques in low relief with foliage and small birds on its bowl. About four



Parma: Interior of the Baptistery.

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feet in diameter, it is supported on the back of a crouching monster with snarling jaws, in the hollow of whose back is perched a small bird, while the head of a nondescript beast, flattened beneath the weight of his body, appears between his forepaws.

Piacenza

Of all the North Italian church interiors with which I am acquainted, I can recall none so grand or so awe-inspiring as that of the cathedral at Piacenza. Doubly so did it appear when, at six o'clock in the morning of the Sunday after Corpus Christi, I first set foot within its majestic nave, whose sandstone grit columns of enormous height and girth so pleasantly recall Gloucester and Tewkesbury, only at Piacenza their would-be heaviness is relieved by a narrow band of varied foliage in the capitals. Although the arcades are so lofty, the upper stories are by no means starved. On the contrary, the triforium stage, composed of a triple arcade grouped beneath a pointed arch, beautifully moulded in brick, with its tympanum unpierced, is, as well as the clerestory, where we find single lancet lights, extraordinarily well developed. The six round arches composing the great arcade are gathered up into pairs by grand half-columns, with boldly foliaged capitals, carrying the arches which span the church transversely, and descending to the floor; while from a lesser shaft which rests upon the capital of each alternate column spring the brick ribs dividing the great domical vaults into six cells. As at Modena, the absence of the horizontal line is very noticeable, there being no string-course below either the triforium or the clerestory. The only relief to the red brickwork between the triforium and the arches separating the nave

from its aisles is a small niched figure. The north aisle is lighted by small round-headed windows placed high up in the wall; those in the opposite one are larger, while the arches which span these portions of the church transversely spring on the wall side from half-columns, whose capitals recall the Corinthian of older days.

A curious feature in the nave of Piacenza Cathedral is that the last bay on either side is much taller than the rest, the top of its arch being on a level with half the height of of the triforium. These arches open into the western aisles of the transepts, Piacenza being one of the few great Italian churches planned with double aisles to the cross arm.

Each aisle, as well as the nave of the transept—if I may so speak—terminates apsidally, and as the choir and its aisles end similarly, the plan of Piacenza Cathedral may be described as both parallel and transverse triapsidal.

Another singular feature is the manner in which the great octagonal lantern is not carried over all three arches opening from the space beneath it into the transepts, but only over those admitting to their central and eastern divisions. An arcade similar to that employed in the triforium of the nave surmounts these two arches, but corresponding in position to the clerestory. Most grandly developed are these three-bayed transepts of Piacenza. Here the columns of the two bays next the lantern are of the same height as those in the nave, while the remaining bay is lower, and surmounted by a pointed arch enclosing three small ones, with the tympanum gracefully patterned in red and yellow brick.

As may be imagined, the views in these transepts at Piacenza, whether looking crosswise or due north and south, are grand beyond description, and I shall never



Piacenza: Nave of the Cathedral, looking East.

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forget the impression they made upon me as I sat in one of the dusky recesses of the northern arm to hear Chapter Mass on the Sunday and Monday mornings of my visit, listening to the organ as it echoed through the long drawn aisles in the interludes to the Gregorian Chant or in the Offertorium, which, on Sunday, was "The Heavens are Telling," from Haydn's *Creation*, and watching the clouds of incense as they rose from the thurible of the acolyte, who was waiting at the door of the sacristy until it was time to make his appearance at the altar for the Canon of the Mass, in company with the cerofers.

I should have said that the organ at Piacenza Cathedral stands with its long array of dull gold pipes unenclosed by a case in the apse, and immediately behind the reredos, a very graceful complete Gothic conception of metal composed of seven gabled compartments, each holding two rows of figures, and flanked by octagonal turrets, mounting up into crocketed spirelets. The grandly raised choir, rich in frescoes by Ludovico Caracci and Procaccini, has one great vaulting bay subdivided like those of the nave into two lesser ones, and is aisled. Here, however, the triforium arcade has two triplets of arcades beneath a semicircular arch to each bay, while the round-headed clerestory windows are pierced eccentrically in the wall, i.e. close to the shaft which runs up from the capital of the great isolated columns of the arcade, separating the choir from its aisles, to the point of the vaulting.

Such are the most prominent features of the Cathedral at Piacenza, which, purged as it has been of pseudo-classical disfigurements, stands forth as fine and pure an example of early Gothic as any in all Lombardy.

Cremona

ANOTHER cathedral with an aisle on either side of its transept is Cremona, the building of whose nave was spread over the greater part of the twelfth century, owing to constant embroilments of the Cremonese with the inhabitants of neighbouring cities.

Here the transepts would appear to have been afterthoughts, as they were not commenced until 1342. There is no central lantern, and the upper stories of the nave are carried past the transepts, completely ignoring their existence. Consequently it was only found possible to make the naves of the transepts, if such they may be called, equal in breadth to one bay of the nave arcade. Such a cutting off of the upper parts of the transepts from the rest of the church produces, it is almost needless to observe, a very singular but at the same time very solemn and awe-inspiring effect.

The interior of Cremona Cathedral, which is unusually lofty for its width, has been rather drastically treated by an architect of the Renaissance, who by flutings and capitals painted on them in perspective and gilt has tortured what must have originally been an impressive array of ponderous, but not lofty, cylindrical columns into pseudo-Classical ones. These "beautifyings" are, however, to a great extent concealed by those magnificent tapestries appearing in the accompanying illustration, and which, in combination with lavishly applied wall paintings and sumptuous furniture, produce an ensemble which it is impossible not to admire for the fine and subdued tone of colour which prevails throughout.

Externally, the Cathedral which soars grandly above the



Piacenza Cathedral: From the North East.

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houses that so closely environ it, is a truly noble example of brickwork, though the transept fronts, where an enormous screen wall is carried up high above the roofs, and pierced with rose windows of elaborate character, but of no possible use, are an example of that sham construction displayed by so many other buildings of their age and class in Italy, and also in certain parts of Germany,* as I have shown in my volume on the ecclesiastical architecture of that country.

The four most celebrated towers in Italy are those of Pisa (called the Leaning Tower), of the Duomo at Florence, of Modena (styled the Ghirlandina from the bronze garland which surrounds the weathercock), and that called the Torazzo or Toraccio, which from the boldness displayed in the design, and the height to which it was carried, has obtained for Cremona its architectural celebrity

Unus Petrus est in Roma
Una turris in Cremona.

This campanile of Cremona Cathedral is said to have been carried up to the square part in the space of two years, and is the highest of all the towers in the North of Italy, reaching the elevation of 396 feet. Four hundred and ninety-eight steps lead to the summit. Of the whole height 264 feet are given to the square part, which is six diameters high. This is divided into seven stories by cornices or string-courses of intersecting arches, and the three upper ones are lightened by apertures with columns and pointed arches.

Above the square tower are two octangular stories, gathered in to support a pyramid, the whole so graduating that it partakes of the character of a spire. Great skill is

* The "screen façades" of Brunswick, Magdeburg and Halberstadt exemplify this.

displayed in the construction of the upper octagon, or rather monopteral Temple of sixteen small columns, on which the surmounting pyramid is placed. Two staircases contained in the thickness of the wall lighten the structure without impairing its durability, and four others lead from the last story to the summit.

This campanile was begun in 1283, in celebration of the peace concluded that year between Cremona, Milan, Piacenza and Brescia, the expense being borne by the Guelphs, or partisans of the Pope, not only of Cremona, but of all Northern Italy. In 1518 the bells were cast which hang in it, at which time we may conclude the octagonal cupola was added. Once this Torazzo at Cremona had a chance of acquiring a celebrity apart from its architectural one. In 1414 the Emperor Sigismund and the Pope visited the city, then subject to the usurped authority of Gabrino Fondulo. The Signore was cruel and treacherous, but wise and talented. The Sovereign and Pontiff consulted with him, and, by his advice, Constance was fixed upon as the place where the great Council was to be held for the purpose of restoring peace to Christendom, Sigismund, besides other marks of favour, giving to Gabrino the authority of a vicar of the empire in Cremona. Gabrino invited his illustrious guests to mount the Torazzo and enjoy the prospect, he alone accompanying them. They all descended in safety; but when Gabrino was brought to the scaffold at Milan in 1425, he said that only one thing in the course of his life did he regret—that he had not had sufficient courage to push Pope and Emperor over the battlements, in order that he might have profited by the confusion which such a catastrophe would have occasioned in Italy.

CREMONA CATHEDRAL.

FROM THE EAST. FROM A DRAWING BY SCOTSON CLARK.



The Baptistery, a large plain octagonal building, stands to the south-west of the Cathedral. It is entirely of brick. Inside, each face of the octagon has an arcade of three tall Romanesque arches below two plain corbelled stages pierced with windows. The ribless vault is octagonal, of red brick, and, from its great simplicity, very impressive. It is crowned by a small open lantern. There are three altars, and the font which occupies the centre of the building is hewn out of a single block of red Verona marble. What is very rare in this class of edifices is a fine projecting porch with the shafts standing on lions, which, as is unusual, are not crushing other animals.

Opinions differ respecting the date of this Baptistery at Cremona, some assigning it to the eighth, others to the following century.

The Certosa

It goes without saying that I broke the railway journey from Milan to Pavia by a visit to the most splendid monastery in the world, the Certosa, commonly called that of the *Beata Virgine* delle Grazie. Alighting at the quiet little station, and walking about a mile, nearly all round the monastic precincts, past irrigating canals and ditches (innocently startling many a lizard and frog with which the meadows teem), I reached the entrance gatehouse.

Casting my eye over the wonderful Renaissance western façade, commenced in 1473 by Ambrogio da Fossano, otherwise known as the painter, Borgognone, I was lost in wonder at the amount of labour bestowed upon it. But while fascinated by the beauty of the details, it was impossible not to feel that, considering the labour involved, its real effect is less than that produced by any other style of decoration. It is, in fact, applying to an exterior what

really is the true attribute of interior art, and applying to an exterior a hard and durable material appropriate only to the fanciful sketchiness permissible with more perishable materials. The failure of an attempt to apply this style of decoration to an exterior led to a most unfortunate reaction in the opposite direction. The architect of the day, finding that the desired effect failed to be produced, and not perceiving that the failure was in the mode of doing it, and not in the thing itself, crowded the interior of the churches with the great Orders which the Romans designed and destined chiefly for external decoration; thus, not only was a most offensive inappropriateness the result, but these buildings became dwarfed and their designs cramped, to an extent which is often too painfully apparent.

Though it cannot, according to all architectural rules, be considered good as a composition (for a wholesome law is transgressed, as the main part of the decoration and sculpture is confined to the lower stages), yet the detail is so exquisite and refined as to completely disarm criticism; indeed, the whole exterior, with its picturesque assemblage of steeples and graceful arcades, in reminiscence of early Lombard Gothic, carried completely round the upper parts of the structure, is one of infinite charm, particularly as I viewed it under conditions of a cloudless blue sky.

The body of the church belongs to the last years of the fourteenth century, and, as might be expected, has all the faults of the buildings raised at that time in Italy, yet its faults are overlooked in the rich and elaborate furniture and decorations of the interior, which by their profusion absolutely bewilder the visitor. Indeed, I know nothing more splendid than the coup d'œil presented by the



Cremona: Nave of the Cathedral, looking East.

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choir, seen through those superb mid-seventeenth-century screens, both to the east and west of the crossing, separating the transept from the nave and choir—screens which have given the keynote to those on either side of the sanctuary in our St Paul's.* The intarsiatures to the stalls, executed in 1486, and the beautiful carving to them; the extraordinary richness of the east end; the altarpieces in the chapels which fringe the nave, almost every one of them containing the production of some great master;† the statuary on the nave piers; the frescoes which cover the choir; and that *rara avis* in Italy, the brilliant stained-glass; all exhibit a prodigality and thought of invention which tempt us to overlook the shortcomings in the architectonic details of the building.

We have then in this Certosa and its cloistral appendages, a group of buildings of great richness, with varied details, many of them very beautiful, but with an absence of repose. Its architects borrowed details and features without scruple from the rival styles known to them. Thus we find the graceful arcaded galleries surrounding the upper part of the semicircular apses which are familiar to us in the Lombard churches of Bergamo and Pavia, and of which examples may be found, as I have before said, translated into northern language at Bamberg and Gelnhausen, at Limburg and Cologne.

Circular arches prevail in the windows, but the Pointed form is also represented. The turrets, with their spire-like cappings, impart a considerable effect of verticality, while the enriched cornices assert the horizontal principle. The

* See Illustration, p. 46.

† It is worthy of observation that all the altars in the nave chapels of the Certosa are placed on the east side of the chapels, and not north and south, as usual in Italy.

elaborate structure—half tower, half dome—which rises at the intersection of the cross, has a special interest, as being one of the few examples by which we are enabled to form an opinion of what might have been the treatment of the dome by the Italian architects of the Middle Ages.

Taken altogether, it is impossible to praise the Certosa, for it is inconsistent, and purity of style is lacking in its details. Still, parts are entitled to admiration, notably the delicate arabesques in the pilasters of the chief façade, which, though more appropriate to the painter's than to the sculptor's art, exhibit a refinement of design and execution which has seldom been surpassed.

Perhaps no other building illustrates more clearly the confusion of ideas which ushered in the Italian Renaissance. The movement was one of vigorous individuality in details without the authority of a strict general design. Its originators rejoiced in the belief that their artistic creations were unrivalled, and strove after originality of ornamentation rather than after that classical correctness so prized and over-estimated by the later architects. At the same time they turned their eyes to the antique as the real shrine of all that was best in art, in their endeavour to engraft classic details on medieval plans.

Pavia

It was an intensely hot afternoon when the omnibus which conveyed me from the station to the Albergo Tre Re turned into the main street of Pavia, where Saturday bustle was intensified by Italian vivacity, and by the embroilments and blockings up of the way, aggravated by the absence of all semblance of footpath; for the Pavanese, like the dwellers in many another old Italian town that has

WEST FRONT OF THE CERTOSA, NEAR PAVIA.

FROM A PAINTING BY SCOTSON CLARKE.



not felt " the march of modern improvement," enjoy in perfection what the Frenchman styles " la totalité de la pavé."

The principal street of Pavia runs due north and south, from the castle at the former to the covered bridge, which, built late in the fifteenth century by Gian Galeazzo, the founder of the present Duomo, bestrides the Ticino at the latter. This, one of the several great Italian rivers mentioned by Claudian, is a tributary of the Po, and extremely rapid. It is therefore somewhat difficult to know why Silius Italicus has represented it as so very gentle and still a river in the beautiful description he has left us of it :

> Cæruleas Ticinus aquas, et stagna vadoso
> Perspicuus servat turbari nescia fundo,
> Ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem:
> Vix credas labi; ripis tam mitis opacis
> Argutos inter volucrum certamina, cantus,
> Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.

In the quarter of the city which lies to the west of this main street, we find the unfinished and scarcely to be admired Cathedral, and the fourteenth-century Gothic Church of St Pantaleone. On the opposite side are the Lombardo-Romanesque St Michele, and the Gothic St Francesco, while at the extreme north end of the place is the equally celebrated Romanesque St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro, whose study, together with that of St Michele, engrossed the greater part of my attention during my stay in Pavia.

The exact date of the construction of St Michele is not

* St Pantaleone, *alias* Sta Maria del Carmine, is a red-brick church with a graceful campanile surmounted by a rather taller spire than usual. The east end is remarkable, being square, and lighted by a rose above two lancets, whose mouldings display a graceful manipulation of brick. St Francesco has a western façade which may be regarded as a model of elegant distribution of parts.

accurately known. Mention is first made of it by Paulus Diaconus, who incidentally relates that, in 661, Unulfus sought refuge in this church from the vengeance of King Grimoaldus. The probability is that it had only been recently finished at that date; because the particular veneration for the Archangel Michael, which commenced in Apulia in 503, did not reach Lombardy till a century later; in addition to which we find that, during the whole of the sixth century, the inhabitants of Pavia were engrossed in the construction of their Cathedral, and it is hardly likely they would have carried on two works of similar magnitude simultaneously.

The fact is, with regard to the age of such structures as St Michele at Pavia and St Ambrose at Milan, we have been as far misled as we were to the so-called Saxon architecture of England; the former has been almost as much antedated as the other. Gally Knight, Hope, Seroux d'Agincourt and other early antiquaries of the last century were all led astray by the documentary lore of Italian archæologists, just as John Carter and Bishop Milner were before the days of John Henry Parker and the *Introduction to Gothic Architecture.*

The nucleus of St Michele at Pavia may date from the middle of the ninth century, but it cannot be said to have assumed its present form until the early part of the twelfth, if as soon as that. In its main portions St Michele is very similar to St Ambrose's at Milan, the arrangement of the arcades and triforium being essentially the same, while the same flatness and squareness is perceptible in the compound piers and their capitals.

It is through such Lombardic works as this that we must trace the connexion with the basilican type of Rhenish



The Certosa near Pavia: View across Transept.

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Germany. In Italy this form is naturally reproduced in most of the ecclesiastical edifices of this period.

St Michele at Pavia dates from between 720 and 750, and St Castor at Coblenz was consecrated in 836, during the reign of Louis the Pious, who lived much at the former city.

Not to mention that curious example at Lorsch (of which but a fragment now remains), consecrated in 774 in the presence of Charlemagne himself, we have in the above-quoted instances sufficient proof of the origin of Rhenish architecture. In my *Cathedrals and Churches of Northern Germany* I have endeavoured to show how it flourished for the next three centuries, and how at the close of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, it had attained its full growth under the protecting care of Frederick Barbarossa at the very time he was laying waste the rebellious cities of Lombardy.

One of the most charming features which the churches of the Rhenish valleys and the Lombard plains have in common is that series of external arcaded galleries which, at first only used under the roofs of the octagonal lanterns with which their architects almost universally crowned the intersections of the four arms of the cross, were subsequently carried along the sides of the churches under the roof of the nave and aisles, and also—where the taste of it is more questionable—under the sloping eaves of the roof of the principal façade.

In the style of which I am now speaking, there is nothing so common or so beautiful as these arcaded galleries. They have all the shadow which a cornice imparts without its inconvenient projections, and the pillarets, with their elegant capitals and light archivolts, seem to adum-

brate all that sparkle and brilliancy for which the perfected Gothic was destined to become so celebrated. Indeed so beautiful are they that we are not surprised to find them so universally adopted; and their discontinuance when the Pointed Style had become settled was perhaps one of the greatest losses sustained by architectural art in those days. It is true they would have been quite incompatible with the thin walls and light piers of the Pointed styles; but it may be safely asserted that no feature which the perfected Gothic introduced was equally beautiful with these galleries which they superseded.

Few ancient Italian churches surpass this of St Michele at Pavia in interest. If, in common with other churches of its age, it fails from over-heaviness of parts and a certain clumsiness of construction, and a deficiency in that refinement requisite for a genuine work of art, it is certainly not without its value as an expression of power.

Built externally of stone, internally mainly of red brick, St Michele is a cruciform basilica, 189 feet long by 81 feet wide, terminating in a semicircular apse and having a lesser apse on the eastern side of each transept. An octagonal lantern, formed by pendentives from the square of the plan, crowns the intersection, and a campanile, of which the greater portion is of very late date, rises between the north transept and the choir.

The west front, probably the prototype of all the others built in Lombardy down to the extinction of the Pointed style, will be best understood from the accompanying illustration. Of exceeding richness and grandeur are the three portals ornamented with carved figures and groups derived from Christian, pagan and Scandinavian sources, which together with some merely introduced for the pur-

poses of decoration, afford a good example of their peculiar style.

The portal of the Northern transept, as well as a blocked doorway on the south side of the nave, will afford the student of sculptured ornament a mine of research, surpassing as they do some of our latest Norman examples in the richness of their decorations and wealth of iconography.

I have more than once alluded to that most beautiful part of these Lombard churches, their eastern ends.

At St Michele this apse, with its gallery, the well developed transept, and the octagonal lantern, constitutes a highly artistic and beautiful group. Usually in Italian churches the open gallery under the roof of the apse is a simple range of arcades; here, however, it is broken into three great divisions by coupled shafts rising from the ground, and these again are subdivided by single shafts running in like manner through the whole height of the apse. The gallery thus not only becomes a part of the whole design, instead of looking as if it might have been added as an after-thought, but a pleasing variety is also given, which contributes not a little to the elegance of the ensemble. There is a descent of several steps from the western portals into the nave, which, owing to its greater elevation, is more imposing than that of St Ambrose at Milan.* The grandly raised choir too, vaulted at the same height as the nave, conducts the eye into the apse, where Andrino da Edesia's painting of the "Coronation of the Virgin" in the conch terminates the vista very impressively.

The nave is divided into three stories of pier arches,

*Both churches underwent important structural changes about the same time, and their internal elevations have several features in common, notably the triforia.

triforium arcades and small clerestory, and had, when first built, a wooden roof. The great piers which run up between the two pair of bays into which this portion of the church is divided, are late additions rendered necessary when the vault took the place of the wooden ceiling. These two great compartments are vaulted quadripartitely between the transverse arch thrown across from the great piers above mentioned. The transepts have simple barrel-shaped roofs, while that of the bay intermediary, between the lantern and the apse, is quadripartite, having its brick cells concealed by plaster. Both transepts and apse have their walls relieved by shallow arcades on single shafts with foliaged capitals, the central and two outer arcades of the latter being pierced with round-headed windows, whose deep splays are lined by pillarets producing an effect of much richness.

The short sturdy compound piers supporting the four arches opening into the nave aisles stand upon rather tall bases, cylindrical, massive and quite plain, and their capitals are profusely ornamented with forms taken from the local fauna and flora, the acanthus being used, but less conventionally than with the Greeks, and less richly than with the Romans.

The bases of the piers supporting the eastern arch of the lantern, which is vaulted in brick without any stone ribs, are much raised from the level of the nave, since they stand on the pavement of the choir. This is grandly elevated above the crypt upon a podium or raised platform reached by staircases of fourteen steps each, and extending a short way into the space beneath the lantern. The front of the crypt, towards the nave, is relieved by arcade work on pillarets, whose capitals, as well as the lintels they carry,



Pavia: West front of St. Michele.

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exhibit good foliaged ornament, but the ancient ambon which once surmounted it has been disturbed, though fragments of it are preserved in the north transept.

Late on Saturday evening I paid a second visit to St Michele, when its interior presented an aspect of truly awful solemnity in the fast gathering darkness, the voices of some poor women and children who were gathered about the altar in the south transept singing their *Ave Maris Stella* and other hymns as they awaited the priest who was to perform the office of Benediction, alone breaking the stillness which brooded over the pile.

Such simple hymn-singing I found the custom in many of the churches, which in certain places remain open to as advanced an hour as ten.

As a rule the parish churches are closed from twelve o'clock, when the Angelus bell is tolled, until about five, though I believe the cathedrals remain open throughout the day.

Among the more prominent features of Romanesque as exhibited in the other Pavian churches of St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro, St Teodoro, St Giovanni in Borgo, and St Lanfranco, all of which deserve the most careful study at the hands of the ecclesiologist,* it should be noticed that, whether forming actual porticoes and galleries, or closed up and applied merely as decoration, the arcades are, as a rule, small in proportion to the building itself, and instead of occupying the centre width of the front or other elevation, were mostly inserted into distinct compartments of it, slightly recessed within the general face of the wall, so that the plain spaces between them assume the appearance of

* All these churches are fully described and illustrated in Dartein, *Etudes sur l'Architecture Lombarde*.

buttresses, or, when narrow, of plain pilasters continued up to the cornice of the gable or roof, and cutting through whatever string-courses or other horizontal mouldings (if there are any) divide the several stories or stages of the building.

These buttress-like surfaces are occasionally more or less enriched, sometimes almost to excess, thus producing vertical lines of ornament continued the entire height of the structure, as in the façade of St Michele.

When, as was not unfrequently done, these surfaces are made wider at the angles of the front than elsewhere, they give an air of repose and of great solidity to it, serving, as it were, as a frame to the architectural decoration. Among the other peculiarities of this style, that arising from small open galleries immediately beneath the eaves of the roof is too remarkable to be overlooked, especially in gabled fronts, where such arcades follow the slope of the roof itself, the columns being successively elevated one above another on steps (so that the base of those supporting the centre arch are above the lower arches), as at St Michele and St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro, or else by placing the columns on the same horizontal line and gradually increasing their height, as in the west front of Pisa Cathedral.

Then there is that curious localism, the making an upper cornice or border of very small interlacing arches, or rather of mouldings producing that appearance.

We do not often meet with pinnacles. When they are introduced, they have the appearance of being set on the part they rise above, being separated from it by horizontal mouldings; besides which they are generally low, and somewhat resemble pedestals.

Such pinnacles may be found surmounting the pilaster-



Pavia: West door of St. Michele.

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like buttresses, and cutting through either an horizontal cornice or the sloping ones of a gable, as in the front of the Cathedral at Monza.

The church of St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro, so called because of the magnificence with which its apse was decorated, derives a lustre apart from its architectural one, enshrining as it does the relics of St Augustine. After remaining for the greater part of the last century in a state of desecration, St Pietro has been restored, and now takes its place among those numerous examples of Romanesque architecture with which the plains of Lombardy are so richly bestrewn.

In the annals of Pavia frequent mention is made of this church, whose importance appears to have almost equalled that of St Michele. It was King Luitprandus who brought hither in 725 the relics of St Augustine, and it is from this date that the fame of the church may be said to have commenced, the transportation of the Saint's remains being an event sufficiently important to at once set in motion the restoration of the older fabric and the installation of a monastery.

The body of St Augustine, who died in 430, was removed from Hippo, a see suffragan to Carthage, during the Arian persecutions, when the Catholic clergy, being banished by King Thrasimund to Sardinia, carried the relic with them. Here it remained until in the eighth century King Luitprandus purchased it from the inhabitants, who, exposed to the constant invasion of the Saracens, could no longer insure safety to the pilgrims who resorted to the shrine. Under the protection of the great Bishop of Hippo the Monastery of St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro seems to have entered upon a brilliant career. St Odo, the second abbot of

Cluny, was lodged in this monastery during his sojourn at Pavia in the retinue of King Hugues. St Mayeul, who came several times to the city, particularly interested himself in the same religious house, at the head of which he placed, acting under the Pope, an abbot of his own choice. Thus the Monastery of St Pietro in Cielo d'Oro found itself a dependency of Cluny. In 978 the Archbishop of Ravenna, Gerbertus, presided at a Council here. Several charters of popes and emperors confirmed the possessions and privileges of the monastery, which depended directly upon the sovereign pontiff.

Like St Michele, St Pietro in Cielo was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of a royal palace, as appears from the following passage in a charter given in 1004 to the Emperor Henry II: "Monasterio Sancti Petri quod dicitur cœlum aureum juxta nostrum papense palatum." A dispute which arose between the Pavians and the soldiers of the Emperor, a dispute which terminated in the burning of the city, had at that time obliged the Emperor to take refuge in his suburban palace.

But of all the historical evidences relating to St Pietro in Cielo the most interesting dates from 1132. In that year on the 9th of May the church was solemnly consecrated by Pope Innocent II. As its actual structure belongs to an advanced period of Lombard architecture, the consecration of 1132 marks, without doubt, the time of its completion, a presumption which finds support in the comparative examination of the churches built at Pavia during the course of the twelfth century. Thus we possess, in regard to the completion of one of the chief Lombard churches of the city, a date on which reliance may be placed.

The value of such a datum is moreover confirmed by the

absence of authentic information about St Michele and St Giovanni in Borgo. Also the fact that St Pietro in Cielo was consecrated in 1132 obliges it to be considered as the basis of a chronological classification of the Pavian churches in the Lombard style.

The popular opinion, accepted by Sacchi, who rolls the tide of time as far back as the reign of Luitprandus will not now bear examination.

The same origin was admitted by Robolini in the first volume of his Annals; but later, better informed, this conscientious historian did not hesitate to retract it; he was also the first to express the opinion that St Pietro, consecrated in 1132, had only just then been rebuilt.

St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro is built chiefly of brick, stone being only employed in the isolated piers, buttresses of the façade, doorways, etc. All the rest—walls, arches, vaults, engaged columns, lateral buttresses—is in brick. The small round-headed clerestory windows have an external archivolt composed of three rows of bricks, two of them placed flatwise, and one arranged in a series of small lozenges moulded in relief. The same system of construction and decoration appears in the apse windows of St Lazaire near Pavia, a small church whose foundation dates from the middle of the twelfth century. This analogy confirms the date which I have assigned to St Pietro in Cielo, in relying on the fact of its consecration by Pope Innocent II.

In size this church nearly equals St Ambrose at Milan, and Parma Cathedral, but as in many respects it is very similar in style to St Michele, a detailed description is hardly necessary. One very striking feature is the narthex, which opens into the nave by an arch reaching nearly to the height of the great vaulting ribs, which spring between

each bay from flat pilasters with small shafts on either side of them, as in some of the great North German minsters. There is no triforium, the plain wall above the arcades, which are loftier than those in St Michele, being alone relieved by the small round-headed windows of the clerestory. A lantern rises at the intersection of the nave and transepts with the choir, which terminates apsidally and contains the shrine of St Augustine, one of those monuments of the great which have for ages attracted, and still attract, their crowds of devotees of all faiths, lands and tongues.*

Perhaps in no country are the illustrious dead more honoured than in Italy, where, besides keeping alive the fame of the dust they enshrine, they have given scope to the genius of the most consummate artists of the golden time, and by reason of their own grace and beauty enjoy a renown greater than that which attaches to them as commemorative objects.

The shrine of St Augustine, which has been restored to its rightful place in the apse of St Pietro at Pavia, after a sojourn of nearly a century in the unfinished southern arm of the Cathedral, is one of the richest Italian works of its class, though hardly so well known as the others.

It was erected in the middle of the fourteenth century, the artists' names being uncertain, though Vasari mentions it as being the work of Agostino and Agnolo di Siena.

The figure subjects in the upper part of the shrine represent the miracles of the Saint, those in the gablets the miracles worked through him after his death. The figure

*Five of these shrines lie within a moderate radius in Northern and Central Italy, viz., those of St Augustine at Pavia, St Dominic at Bologna, St Peter Martyr at Milan, the Tabernacolo at Florence, and St Donato at Arezzo.



Pavia: The Shrine of St. Augustine.
(In St. Pietro cielo d'Oro.)

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of St Augustine himself lies nearly hidden from view beneath the canopy.

The figures round him and those in panels on the base represent the different saints his Order produced.

The larger figures standing in brackets represent the liberal arts and the cardinal virtues. The material is white marble, and it now stands on a modern altar of coloured marbles in which the remains of this great Latin doctor are deposited.

The figures, which number two hundred, are all of the most beautiful and careful workmanship.

The city of Pavia had formerly, like Brescia and Milan, a double cathedral, formed by the contiguous churches of St Stefano and Sta Maria del Popolo.

If reliance may be placed on an inscription, now lost, the foundation of the latter dated from the reign of King Luitprandus, who died in 744. The origin of St Stephano is less well known. MM. G. and D. Sacchi, in their *Antichita romantiche d' Italia* are of opinion that the primitive cathedral was rebuilt by St Epiphanius after the taking and pillage of Pavia by Odoacer in 471, while Rabolini* only makes it to date from the days of Luitprandus.

A more recent writer, Signor M. C. Brambilla, has, however, settled that the church existed in 680, and began from that time to serve as the Cathedral.

At the commencement of the ninth century the translation to St Stefano of the relics of St Sirus, the first Bishop of Pavia, brought about the alteration of the name of the church, or rather the use of a new appellation concurrently with the old one. From this period the double

* *Notizie appartenenti all' Storia di Pavia* (1825-32). Vol. IV, pt 1, p. 32, et seq.

Cathedral was formed by the junction of St Stefano or Sirus with Santa Maria del Popolo.

This latter, situated to the south, was used in winter, while St Stefano served during the summer months. Twice a year the canons repaired processionally from one of these churches to the other.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the Pavians, following the example of many other cities, were seized with the desire to rebuild their cathedral, which was in a dangerous condition, on a grand scale.

Accordingly a structure, in which the great feature was to be a huge central octagon surmounted by a dome, was commenced in 1488 from the designs of Cristoforo Rocchi, a pupil of Bramante, and in that earlier phase of the Renaissance style which had already taken so firm a root in the land. But the undertaking so severely taxed the resources of the city that, upon the completion of the new choir in 1526, they were compelled to relinquish it, merely repairing the western portions by encasing the old pillars in rectangular piers composed of four Corinthian pilasters, surmounted by a very tall entablature between the capitals and the spring of the arches.

At the same time all communication with Sta Maria del Popolo was put an end to. Already it was much ill-treated, being on the point of falling into ruins.

But slow progress was made with the rebuilding of Pavia Cathedral, the last piers of the great central area not being completed till 1768, while the dome itself, an octagonal one, whose effect can only be described by saying that it is not very good, but might be worse, dates but from the last century. Even now the transept is lacking, the arch, seen in the accompanying illustration, being only tem-



Pavia: Interior of the Cathedral, looking South East.

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porary. Within it will be seen the shrine of St Augustine, the view having been taken before its restoration to the Church of St Pietro in Cielo d' Oro.

Here may be seen an enormous wood model of the Cathedral as proposed to have been carried out, and so large that one can stand upright inside it and have a good look at the interior, far more finished in the miniature than in the real building. Though it may be a matter of opinion as to whether the whole of the proposed design is worthy of admiration, yet the conception was undoubtedly a grand one.

These great provincial churches in Italy almost rival in scale our own St Paul's, to which, internally, this Duomo at Pavia bears a very striking resemblance either in certain features or when viewed from certain points, more particularly when looking across the great octagonal central area towards the choir. The Italian architect, however, has made the abutments to his dome angular, whereas in the London cathedral they are semicircular. Over and over again did I see portions of Renaissance churches that reminded me of St Paul's. Wren, however, never went to Italy, and I am inclined to think that it is as well, on the whole, that he did not. His work would, in all likelihood, have been far more delicate and refined in detail had he done so; but he would have inevitably lost much of the originality and freedom of treatment which is undoubtedly the great charm of his work, which fits it so admirably for the Northern climate, and particularly for London, where in St Paul's and its satellite City churches he was destined to find the subjects of his chief and happiest efforts.

A revived style must show changes, and those not for the worse, accommodating it to a new state of existence. The

revivers of the classical style never thought of confusing their works with those of the ancients. Michael Angelo, or Palladio, or Inigo Jones, or Wren never dreamt of producing structures that might be mistaken for specimens of old Roman art. They took what they wanted from the magazines of antiquity, moulded it into new combinations, and enriched it with new additions, so as to make it a real, living style, suited to the exigencies of the day and likely to receive vigour and refinement from the natural growth of taste and talent which might be looked for in the existing state of society. The artist had not to throw himself altogether into the past, but to gain strength and nourishment from the present.



Monza Cathedral: Western Facade.

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CHAPTER X

Milan: St Ambrose and the Cathedral

THE medieval architecture of Italy has been grievously mistaken in regard to its age. With certain remarkable exceptions, the great towns of northern Italy underwent more vicissitudes in feudal times than those of any part of Europe; indeed, the small republics and independent leagues appear to have been more quarrelsome and mutually jealous than the arbitrary sovereigns of other countries. Then invasions of all kinds were rife in Italy. In Milan, where one would expect to see in certain buildings very early work, we find that Frederick Barbarossa has made such clean work of it when he destroyed the city in 1162 that the citizens were constrained to rebuild the whole of the churches with brick, incorporating such fragments of stone work as were left standing in their new structures.

Thus St Ambrose's is but a *raffacciamento* of the old basilica of the ninth century in the transitional period. Nevertheless, there is much of interest in the city even of the later date, and the Duomo is most assuredly, with all its faults, a marvel of Christian architecture.

It was at half-past seven on a glorious June morning that I caught my first view of the white marble forest of pinnacles of Milan Cathedral from the top of one of the tramways which ply between the city and Monza, where for reasons of greater quietude I had elected to take up my quarters rather than in the noisy, bustling capital of Lombardy.

An *alfresco* breakfast having been enjoyed in front of the great apse of the Duomo, I set out in quest of that church which covers the dust of the patron saint of Milan, and that of the most truly Christian emperor Italy had seen since Marjorian, and which boasts, truly or falsely, of containing the resting-place of the one worthy antagonist whom Rome sent forth to withstand the Gothic invader.

One small portion of the pile lays claim to a date going back to the days of the Saint to whom it is dedicated, but of the present fabric the mass belongs to the days of that worthiest of the Karlings, Louis II, King and Emperor, commonly styled "the Pious."

A fine example of that early Lombardic Romanesque style, brought perhaps to its perfection in the ninth, and resuscitated, with some modifications, in the twelfth century, to which period, for the greater part, the actual edifice of St Ambrose belongs, its severe and simple grandeur affords a rest for the eye after that splendidly imaginative creation, the Duomo, the marvel and glory of the Lombardic metropolis.

But of far deeper interest than the architectural features of St Ambrose's are the associations that cluster around this ex-cathedral, and which call upon us to regard it rather as a type or monumental abstract of a local ecclesiastical history fraught with instructive meanings.

Of all the parts preserved from the ninth-century architecture of this church, the most important is that venerable atrium, with quadrangle of round arches resting on square piers, a genuine example of the *paradisus*, according to the early basilica plan, and indeed the most perfect, as well as most imposing, extant in Italy at this day.*

*"Had St Ambrose's been erected on the colder and stormier side of the

What so impresses us in this fine old structure is its character of simple and harmonious dignity; and the basilica itself, that stands removed from the busier centres of the city, seems more distinguishingly severed from all profane and frivolous interests by that forecourt, sacred to silence and inviting to solemn meditation.

This remarkable feature of the more ancient edifice avails also as monumental proof of the maintenance in practice, up to the second half of the ninth century at least, however before this period modified, of that primitive discipline that required public penance from grievous offenders, and divided those seeking reconciliation after notorious sin into so many classes, severally assigned their places within the sacred building: the *flentes*, only permitted to frequent the atrium, and there ask for the prayers of those who passed on into the basilica itself; the *audientes*, who might remain in the narthex during the rites, and in the interior during the sermon; the *substrati*, who could join the other worshippers, but were confined to the space between the portals and the pulpit, and had to remain prostrate; and the *consistentes*, who alone among the penitents could attend the Consecration, though not yet admitted to the privileges of communicants.

That such public and systematic enforcement of the Church's power in the world of conscience was still among religious realities at this period is evident from the fact

Alps, a clerestory would have been added to the atrium, which, on the ground plan, virtually forms the nave, and it would have been roofed over; then the plan would have been nearly identical with that of one of the Northern cathedrals. If, besides this, there had been a baptistery at the western entrance, as at Novara, we should then have had a building with two apses—a complete German Cathedral."—Fergusson, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture.*

that, in the ninth century, the parochial rectors (*curati*) first acquired the faculties, hitherto exclusively held by bishops, of receiving reconciled sinners to communion, when such belonged to their respective parishes, after compliance with these expiatorial duties for a penitential season.

The gradual decay of that ancient discipline and its final extinction are now manifest in the architecture as in the life of the Italian Church, and form a striking exemplification of the mutability of Latin Catholicism, of the degree in which Rome herself has submitted to the silent process of inevitable change, that seems the Heaven-appointed fate of all institutions where elements of enduring life exist, correspondent to the law of progress that acts in humanity.

The building of the new St Peter's in the sixteenth century might be said to supply the last historic proof as to the mind of the modern Church in Rome with regard to these ancient observances, seeing that it was on that occasion deliberately to sweep away the entire hierarchic arrangement of the primitive cathedral, and that in not one design presented or approved for the great basilica was the attempt made to restore the old atrium apparent!

Guide books and *custodi* point out at St Ambrose's some panels of cypress wood set into the bronze portals of the great western entrance to the church, and said to be a relic of the door from which that Saint repulsed Theodosius after the massacre at Thessalonica; but historic criticism must reject this claim, seeing that no material and *personal* opposition to that emperor's entrance into the former cathedral church is borne out by authorities.

The very curious and various symbolism introduced



Milan: The Atrium of St. Ambrose.

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among details of the exterior of this basilica round those portals and on the pier capitals of the atrium, where both human and animal figures, the centaur and the syren, appear in the mystic circle, seem the result, with enlarged and more fantastic application, of the study of that clearer symbolism found in Roman catacombs, still frequented for devotion, though becoming gradually deserted, in the ninth century.

Among these sculptured symbols in the portals and in the atrium we notice a relief of St Ambrose with a crozier in his hand that terminates in a serpent's head. This singular object suggests analogy with a relic indeed unique and that attracts much notice inside this church. I refer to a bronze serpent placed on the summit of a column near the marble pulpit, once superstitiously regarded as the very image, or at least made of the material of the image, lifted up by Moses in the wilderness, under which idea it was actually presented to an archbishop, Arnulph, in 1001, at Constantinople, whither that prelate had been sent on embassy by Otho III.

The antiquarian notion that it is no other than the serpent of Æsculapius, preserved from the ornaments of a temple to that god upon whose ruins this basilica was reared is now exploded; and strongest of all associations that attach to it is the proof of lingering Paganism, existent in ignorant minds even till the sixteenth century, when mothers were in the habit of invoking their idol (for such it had become to the Milanese populace) to cure their children of the disease of worms, an abuse finally suppressed by St Carlo Borromeo. In fact the "acts" of one of his diocesan visitations bear reference to it: "Est quædam superstitio ibi mulierum pro infantibus morbo verminum laborantibus."

The serpent associated with the Cross as emblematic of the triumph of Christianity over Paganism had indeed an authorized place among sacred pomps, borne together with the banner in the van of processions, as Allegranza tells us that in his time it used so to be displayed before the processional cross of the clergy at Vicenza; and the cross itself used of old to be emblemized by a serpent, for sanction of which practice the words of St Ambrose in chapter IX of the third volume of his *De Spiritu Sancto* may be cited: "Imago enim crucis æreus serpens est."

The whole body of this Church of St Ambrose and its two unequal campanili with their stunted pyramidal roofs of the customary Lombard type are of red brick. The western gable of the church, which so grandly closes the view across the atrium, is extremely flat with its two tiers of three grand round-headed arches opening into recessed *loggi*, all richly moulded in brick. The piers which support the arches of the court are formed each of two half-columns attached to an oblong pillar; these are of stone, but all the rest is of plain or moulded brick. Even a casual glance at this solemn atrium of St Ambrose will show the great capabilities the latter material offers for the Lombard style.

The interest of the general traveller to Milan is absorbed in the Cathedral, the marble monster of Italy, yet I do not hesitate to affirm that there is more true architectural principle displayed in this plain brick basilica of the ninth century, even more appropriateness (and consequent satisfaction to the spectator) in the material employed, than in the vast mass of the white marble Duomo, the work of five hundred years, with its flying buttresses, its attenuated flamboyant windows, its grove of pinnacles, and roof-garden of three thousand statues.

I speak now only of the exterior; for the interior of the Cathedral of Milan is inexpressibly grand, though even here I am not disposed to quarrel with those who see more in the ninth-century altar and mosaics of St Ambrogio and the very throne of the primitive Archbishop of Milan in which he sat at the extreme eastern end of the apse, in the midst of his eighteen suffragans, than in the flaunting modern stained glass and false roof (for it is painted in imitation of stone groining, a trick which the Italians practised *usque ad nauseam*) of the more pretending Duomo.

Whatever beauty may be conceded to these Lombard Churches, it must be allowed that much is owing to their general outline and proportions;* for the brick used is for the most part of the very commonest and coarsest kind, and it is generally only in the façade that terra-cotta enrichments are introduced.

Since the ninth century great structural changes have taken place in this old Milanese basilica, but although minutely worked out by some archæologists, the distinction between the architecture of the earlier and that of the later ages still offers some points difficult of solution.

The vaulted roof of the nave with its pointed arches, the octagonal dome between the nave and the choir, and the advanced upper story of the west front unquestionably belong to the twelfth century, and are the work of Archbishop Galdinus, a zealous prelate who actually died in the pulpit at the Cathedral of St Tecla, after preaching against the heretics called Cathari, and who was extremely active in repairing the basilica after the time when Freder-

*I must except from this censure the exquisite ancient specimens in the transepts and aisles, most of which have a decided air of the Nuremburg school about them.

ick Barbarossa, in his efforts to subjugate the Lombards was ravaging the North Italian cities.

But in the main arcades of the nave, in the triforia, destined for females according to the arrangement seen in Rome at Sta Agnese and the SS. Quattro Coronati, and in that most remarkable feature of St Ambrose the atrium, or *cortile*, the ninth-century work still survives, where the whole style approaches more nearly our Northern Romanesque in its Norman variety, though it has throughout an earlier and ruder appearance.

To the same period there no doubt belong such other characteristic details of the interior—which, by the way, underwent a purging from rococoisms between thirty and forty years ago—as the crypt, the massive baldachino, with porphyry columns over the high altar, and, most interesting of all, the apse with its mosaics and marble throne, called the Chair of St Ambrose, of an ancient form, decorated with lions at the arms and a simple scroll work. This chair is, in fact, the primitive throne of the Archbishops of Milan, on which they sat according to the ancient practice of the Church in the midst of the eighteen suffragans of the province, of whom the most northern was the Bishop of Chur or Coire and the most southern the Bishop of Genoa. The chairs of the bishops were replaced in the sixteenth century by wood stalls for the canons, carved in a rich Flemish style; but students of primitive rituals and local uses must ever regret the loss of such a specimen of antique simplicity.

The form of the old basilica is here somewhat incongruously united with late Romanesque elements.

The strong and rude pillars, ornamented with half-columns and pilasters, support pointed arched cross vaults,



Milan: Interior of St. Ambrose.

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forming thus a clear transition from Romanesque to Gothic. Round arches, chiefly of brick, but with small oblongs of stone introduced irregularly by way of relief, support the similarly designed triforium, which is continued across the arches opening north and south from the lantern, where pendentives in the form of niche-like recesses conduct the eye from the square to the octagonal portion.

The façade, constructed of brick, as is the greater part of the building, serves to show us how to produce an imposing architectural composition by a correct use of this material.

The ground plan, as given by Ferrario, has all the elements of one of the Northern cathedrals, elongated, with a mighty *atrium* scarcely separated from the nave, and somewhat disturbing the proportions, but at the same time producing a monumental effect almost like that of the Egyptian temples, though the vertical line in St Ambrose's powerfully dominates. At the time of my visit the doorway opening from the atrium into the north aisle of the nave chanced to be open, and the effect produced by the long perspective of column and arch seen from the upper end of the basilica was remarkably impressive, for the nave itself is too low and broad to be really pleasant, however solemn and awe-inspiring it may be as a whole.

Perhaps this effect of lowness may be partly attributed to the raised crypt which commences at the eastern arch of the lantern, and immediately in front of which stands the baldachino, a pedimental canopy with a gable on each side resting on four porphyry columns, said to have been saved from an ancient temple. Within the gable facing the nave is a gilt bas-relief on a blue ground of our Lord seated between St Peter and St Paul kneeling, and offering to the

former two rods with a kind of key, and to the latter a book with the inscription, "Accipe Librum Sapientiæ." In the gable turned towards the apse is a mitred saint dominated by a small nimbed figure with extended arms. This is in all likelihood St Ambrose, on either side of whom are St Gervasius and St Protasius giving their protection to two other figures, one of whom is presenting an offering in the shape of a miniature baldachino. In the gable facing south a saint in *pontificalibus* is giving his blessing to two personages. He is crowned with a diadem which a hand is seen placing on his brow. A similar subject fills the northern gable with this difference, that in place of three male there are three female figures, and instead of a hand, a bird with out-stretched wings rests on the head of the central figure, whom the side ones are represented as imploring.

Touching this ciborium at St Ambrose's, a few remarks on this *instrumentum altaris* may not be irrelevant.

By κιβώριον, of which the etymology and original meaning are variously interpreted by archæologists, is understood the detached canopy of the altar, supported on four columns, and from which hung a vessel of costly material, containing the Sacred Elements, used especially for the Communion of the sick.* This ciborium besides having a symbolical meaning, was intended to shield the Holy Sacrifice and the *mensa* from the falling dust or any other possible impurity.

* In the Cathedral at Ratisbon are several very fine examples of fourteenth-century ciboria. Since the great Church Revival in England this dignified and imposing feature of Christian architecture has been placed with considerable success in our churches, notably in Peterborough Cathedral, and in two churches built on the basilican model—St Barnabas, Oxford, and the Holy Nativity at Knowle, near Bristol. Such a canopy would form an extremely noble feature in the choir of Canterbury Cathedral.

This erection over the Holy Sacrifice had been in use from a very early period of ecclesiastical art, and fashioned variously, according to the prevailing style of the time. The roof of the ciborium altar reposed on four columns, standing round the altar at a short distance from its corners, and their richly decorated capitals and shafts were often moulded in metal. In the early period of Christian art, when it still clung to the classical forms of antiquity, these columns were simply united by architraves and covered by a rather flat ceiling, generally finished by four gables. In this case the horizontal band of the architrave often served as a support for the tapers which on festivals were sometimes used in great numbers to illuminate the upper part of the altar. Besides the one now under consideration, the most ancient ciborium altars still preserved in this form are in the churches of St Clemente and St Giorgio in Velabro at Rome, at St Mark's, Venice, at the Cathedral of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in Friuli, and in the Cathedral church of Parenzo in Istria. These, as well as most of the ciborium altars from the earliest Christian times until about the twelfth century, were furnished between the four columns with full curtains, which closed in the detached altar-table on its four sides.

This decoration of churches in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, when textile fabrics were preferably employed, differs from that of the three last centuries, chiefly because, in the former period, a number of costly hangings were applied to cover and veil various parts of the altar and choir, as well as some of the objects used, which were calculated to contribute to the solemnity of Divine Worship and to a devout frame of mind in the congregation; whereas, on the contrary, from the beginning of the Re-

naissance period the many *vela*, with other decorative fabrics, fell into desuetude, in order that the eyes of the faithful might penetrate into the innermost sanctuary. Hence also the disuse or removal in Southern churches of the jube. From this time not only from the detached high altars were the hangings by degrees laid aside, and which had separated the altar from the narrow presbytery, but in the last centuries were also discontinued the hangings of the side altars, which had served to turn aside the wandering glances of the congregation assembled about the altar in the middle of the church.

These *tetravela*, as Anastasius always calls them, were fastened under the architrave of the flat-roofed ciborium altars; if the ceiling were arched (round or pointed), the *tetravela* were fastened to iron rings run upon a rod fixed between the columns, and so could be drawn backwards and forwards at pleasure.

Both sides of the altar were draped with *vela*, consisting, as a rule, of large square curtains, which were never drawn aside during the celebration of the Eucharist; but the hangings at the front and back of the altar, as many old pictures represent, were generally divided in two, like long window curtains, and could be folded together below and fastened to the columns, in order to afford a view of the altar-table and the officiating priest.

The division of the hangings at the back of the ciborium altar was necessary in the earlier centuries after the concession of the free Christian worship, it having been an ancient usage of the Church, which was for a long time afterwards maintained, that at the celebration of the Holy Mysteries the bishop, rising from his cathedra in the apse, should approach the back of the altar and turn his face to

the congregation. The four draperies of the ancient ciborium explain further that a literal interpretation was to be given to the words of the priest's prayer, " Introibo ad altare Dei," now pronounced on the altar steps, but which prior to the tenth century he repeated beyond the bounds of the ciborium and its vela; and in like manner the *oratio veli* of the Latins, " Aufer a nobis, Domine, iniquitates nostras, ut ad Sancta Sanctorum puris mereamur mentibus introire," was to be literally understood.

In the remaining liturgies of the most ancient Churches is often to be found a similar so-called *oratio veli*, or *velaminis*, i.e., a prayer which the officiant said after he had finished the introductory prayers of the Mass on the outer side of the veiled altar, and was on the point of quitting the apse to enter the Sancta Sanctorum, of which the curtains at the front and back were drawn aide by the assistants, so that the Most Holy should be visible to the congregation.*

During the secret portion of the ceremonies of the Holy Sacrifice, therefore, from the Sanctus to the Communion, the *tetravela* were closed, so that then the priest was entirely withdrawn from the view of the congregation. In order, however, to give notice how far the ceremonies had proceeded, it was the usage of the celebrant, at certain leading portions of the Holy Mass, to make a signal with a little hand-bell, a custom which has survived the disuse of the tetravela for many centuries until the present time.

* Such an *oratio veli* is to be found, for example, in the Liturgy of St James (printed in Binterim's *Katholischen Denkwürdigkeiten*, IV, s. 148-212; and the prayer in question on the same page, 176 ff.), and in the Liturgy of St Gregory. Also the altar prayer, at present in use, commencing *Aufer a nobis*, etc., is, as observed above, to be considered as such an *oratio veli* belonging to the most ancient Latin liturgies.

Whenever coronations took place at Milan, they were held within the walls of St Ambrose's, as in the first instance that of Otho I in 961; and either here or at Pavia did nine " Kings of the Romans " receive the crown at the hands of the Milanese Archbishops. This was the *corona di ferro*, so called from the iron circlet set within the golden one, and said to be formed from a nail of the Crucifixion.*

The ancient liturgy for these coronations attests in a very striking manner the admixture of the democratic element in the then constitution of Milan. Two bishops, at a certain passage in the ceremonial, were to ask the people whether they desired such a prince and would submit to him as King? and if no response were made these prelates offered thanks to God for the acceptable election, while all present joined in the *Kyrie eleison.*

It was before that rebuilding ordered by Archbishop Anaspertus that his munificent predecessor, Angilbertus, bestowed on the Basilica of St Ambrose that splendid shrine for the relics of the great Doctor of the Western Church which still encases the high altar, though no longer visible save on three high festivals, or with permission from the authorities on payment of a prescribed fee. Formerly, it seems, that this magnificent piece of the goldsmiths' art was exposed at all times; for we are told

*This iron crown is now preserved in the neighbouring cathedral of Monza, chiefly remarkable as the possessor of one of those façades in marbles of different shapes and colours, more commonly met with in central than Northern Italy. As a specimen of complete Gothic I hardly know its equal; the trelliswork introduced above and on either side of the great rose window, and the tracery of those lighting the compartment of the façade on either side of the porch, being in my opinion as beautiful as anything at Orvieto or Siena. By those who love quiet, Monza will be preferred to Milan, of which it is now to all intents and purposes a suburb pleasantly accessible by the electric car. See Illustration, p. 305.



Milan: Altar frontal in St. Ambrose.

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that in 1333 a Cardinal Legate ordered it to be surrounded by a railing for a protection against danger of robbery. As it is, the heads of the three Magi in the group of the Epiphany are wanting.

At the front of solid gold, at the sides and back of silver gilt and adorned with enamels, the entire surface profusely studded with gems, this exquisite specimen of metallurgy is surrounded by reliefs on panels representing scenes from Gospel history, figures of the Saviour, the Evangelists, archangels, the principal saints of Milan, and twelve scenes from the life of St Ambrose, historic and legendary. Ughelli, gives the estimate of its cost at 30,000 gold solidi, or 80,000 sequins; and the diploma of Angilbertus for appointing the new abbot confides to his custody and that of his monastic successors this superb altar-tomb, qualified with just complacency as the work, "*quod* inibi noviter mirifice hedificari" (*sic*).

As an art production of the ninth century it is indeed still more precious than for its intrinsic costliness. In execution the illustrations of the life of St Ambrose are the most admirable, as well as interesting for the testimony they bear to ancient ecclesiastical usages. We see here the simple altar of the early Milanese church, without candles or ornaments on its mensa, but only the plain cross, a two-handled chalice, round loaves cross-marked for consecration, and a scroll instead of a volume for either the Liturgy or the Gospels; while, as to costume, the comparative simplicity of the pontifical attire in two figures is observable St Ambrose is receiving a model of this shrine from Angilbertus, who receives in reward a jewelled crown (or rather cap) upon his head; and both are vested in the alb, chasuble and long pallium of Greek fashion, but neither wears the mitre.

In another curious group we see the episcopal donor placing a similar, but less precious, ornament on the head of the artist, whose name and qualification are inscribed, "Wolfinus, magister phaber" (*sic*), apparently Teutonic, though classed with Italian metallurgists by Italian art historians.* The baptism by immersion, with the use of the affusion on the head at the same time, is another noteworthy detail in the relief, of the exceptional administration of that Sacrament to Ambrose after the popular act that raised him, by unanimous suffrages, to the bishopric.

Another curious and interesting item in the instrumenta of St Ambrose's is the pulpit or ambon, a low stone gallery standing on columns with three arches in its longest or north and south sides, and two on its east and west ones.

The capitals of the shafts are carved in eagles, and the spandrel spaces between the arcades have pelicans and various animals. On the south side of the ambon an ancient brass eagle bearing a book desk projects from the front, below which is a seated figure. The bases of the shafts are early and rest on tortoises. Just under the ambon is a carved sarcophagus, which has been styled the tomb of Stilicho, but this is an antiquarian whim, there not being the slightest foundation for the belief. On its back are eleven figures seated at a table, said to represent an Agape, or Love Feast; besides which there are the monograms XP AΩ and two birds drinking from a cup. This pulpit is said to have been rebuilt in 1201; but most of the ornaments are so evidently of the earliest Lombard period that it can then only have been repaired.

* Cicognara, *Storia della Scultura*. An excellent coloured plate of this shrine is given in Ferrano, *Monumenti sacri e profani dell' imperiale e reale Basilica di Sant' Ambrozio in Milano* (1824).

The mosaic work in the apse is a magnificent specimen of Byzantine art, ordered by the Abbot Gaudentius, the same nominated to office at this monastery by Archbishop Angilbertus in 835. The central subject here represented on a field of gold is the Saviour enthroned, holding a book open at the words, "Ego sum lux mundi," a grand and expressive figure, which Venturi is of opinion is in the twelfth-century Greek manner when the whole work was restored, but still in conformity with early types.* Above the throne we see the floating forms of the archangels Michael and Gabriel, with names in Greek; beside it are SS. Gervasius and Protasius, richly vested, the former crowned; beneath appear medallions of SS. Satyrus and Marcellina (brother and sister to St Ambrose), and St Candida. In addition there are eighteen seated figures, each with an open book, supposed to be the suffragan bishops of the province, and two scenes in church interiors—St Ambrose celebrating Mass before the people, and the story told by Gregory the Great of the soul of St Ambrose attending the obsequies of St Martin of Tours while his body remained asleep in the basilica during the Mass. Laterally, on a larger scale, is the representation of another Mass celebrated by St Ambrose at a circular altar, without ornament save a plain cross upon it, and St Martin chanting the gospel at an ambon. These last subjects are intended to illustrate the legend of the Milanese prelate being translated in ecstasy, while at the rites in his Cathedral, to attend (a case of bi-location) that funeral at Tours—a legend Baronius shows to be quite untenable. At an angle beneath the principal compartment of this mosaic is a curious monogram in

* The palms have become mere ornaments, and the way in which the small scenes invade the field betray the inexperienced designer.

Gothic letters, which may be read: "Angilberto Karoli Ludovico fecit frater Gaudentius."

In the apse vault of the chapel of St Satyrus, which, like the domes of the Baptistery and St Vitalis at Ravenna, is constructed of pots, are some mosaics of the eighth century.

Excavations made in 1859 disclosed substructions of a small parallel-triapsidal basilica, of which this chapel occupied the centre. It is believed to have formed part of the ancient Basilica Fausta, and dates from the fifth century. The cupola and pendentives are encrusted with gold mosaic, upon which are placed a central disc with a bust of St Victor (to whom this chapel was originally dedicated), and a border at the base of the dome. On the walls between the windows on the two sides are six standing figures in groups of three: St Ambrose with SS. Gervasius and Protasius, the three saints whose memory has ever been attached to this venerable church; and St Maternus between SS. Delicius and Nabor. All are costumed as Romans, and are standing on a blue ground. On the pedentives are the Evangelistic symbols, and inside the lunettes medallions of Apostles. The arrangement points to the probability that the centre medallion was once occupied by a bust of our Lord.

Although it is desirable that the differences between Gothic and classic architecture should be understood, it is possible to overestimate the opposition there may be between their principles, and to the disadvantage of the art of architecture. Those who devote themselves to the elucidation of theory rather than practice are apt to dwell too strongly upon the opposition without sufficiently bearing in mind that the one style actually grew out of the other, and that the history of architecture, so long as it was a real

and living art, was one of progress and development. The first links in this great chain were as valuable as the last, and not one can be dispensed with. Because the general tendency of classic architecture was to breadth and horizontality, therefore it is generally thought that to be pure all vertical lines must be avoided; and, *vice versa*, it is usually supposed that, because height and verticality are the main principles affected in the Gothic style, therefore any approach to horizontal lines is to be scrupulously avoided. Following out this view of the matter Professor Freeman came to the conclusion that the Perpendicular style, as in our English Gothic, is the highest and only complete style; and that those preceding it were comparatively conditions of transition, unsatisfactory in so far that the opposite element to its perpendicularity and continuity of lines had not been wholly overcome.

From this point of view the Gothic of Italy might claim pre-eminence over all others. The struggle there between the two principles, was short, sharp and decisive. We see in it the gradual victory of verticalism over horizontality, till, at last, the latter is wholly eliminated, and a reedy weakness of effect is the result. Perhaps this is rather a strained view of the question, but there are few practical architects who will not endorse it.

In the eyes of the best judges the Gothic of Italy never rose to the excellence of the countries beyond the Alps. Even if the supposed principles of the style were most thoroughly exhibited in it, yet it always seemed to lack something of the true spirit. I have dwelt upon some of these failings in earlier chapters, particularly in that dealing with the vast church of St Petronio at Bologna, a contemporary with the Cathedral of Milan, usually consid-

ered one of the glories of Italian Gothic architecture, in which we are struck almost with surprise that such a forest of pinnacles can fail to convey the true feeling of the aspiring Gothic style.

In this sumptuous work, constructed in white marble with the utmost elaboration, the flat pitch of the roofs seems to restrain the efforts to carry the eye upward, which otherwise their elegant outline would seem calculated to do. Though such ornaments, in subordination to other upright masses, are quite consistent with the Gothic spirit, they are felt, in the present instance, to transgress this condition. The numerical strength of this marble army makes it the governing power; the statuary domineers over the architecture, and we collect out of all this host of personages and attitudes no definite lines and regular forms, such as alone can give architectural effect.

The general design of the Cathedral at Milan belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century, but much doubt exists as to the exact date of the commencement of the work. It is clear, however, that the capitals of the great piers were being prepared in 1394-5, and that the piers themselves were being erected in 1401. The records of the wardens of the church are deficient until 1387, in which year an official paper speaks of the building which "Multis retro temporibus initiata est, et quæ nunc fabricatur." Chronicles and an inscription concur in fixing March 15, 1386, as the date of commencement; but Simone da Orsenigo, probably an eyewitness of the facts to which he is evidence, states that the work was begun May 23, 1386, but was destroyed, and that the existing structure was commenced May 7, 1387. He was employed as one of the architects at least as early as December 6 in that year, so



Milan Cathedral from the South West.

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that the date, 1386-87, usually given, is possibly the period of attempts to begin the work, and explains the phrase "multis temporibus."

The Duomo of Milan has been much belauded as a specimen of Northern art modifying itself to suit the Southern climate under the hands of a German, or, at all events, of a foreigner rather than of a native; but facts seem to destroy this imputed credit.

The official list of the "ingegneri," as the chief artists who laboured at the Duomo were called, show the earliest employment of foreigners in the case of Nicolas Bonaventure of Paris, from July 6, 1388, till his dismissal, July 31, 1391; and the same evidence seems to divide the merit of the earliest direction of the works between Marco and Jacopo, both of Campiona, a village between the lakes of Lugano and Como.

The first name in the records of 1387 is that of Marco, supposed to be the Marco da Frisona, who was buried July 8, 1390, with great honours; Jacopo occurs March 20, 1388, having apparently been engaged from 1378 as one of the architects to the Church of the Certosa near Pavia; he died 1398.

The official notes of the disputes that were constantly arising between the contemporaneous "ingegneri-generali" and their subordinates, and the foreign artists, even record the fact that the Italian combatants disagreed on the great question of proportioning the building by the foreign system of squares, or by the native theory of triangles. If there be any merit in a work that was the offspring of so many minds, much of it must be due to the wardens, who seem to have ordered the execution of so little that was not recommended by the majority of their

artists, or, in case of an equal division, by an umpire of reputation from some other city.

From 1430 the names of Filippo Brunelleschi and six or seven other artists precede the notice, 1483, of Johann von Grätz, who appears to have been invited for the purpose of constructing the central *tiburio* or lantern. As usual, the foreigner's work was condemned; and on April 13, 1490, Giovanni Antonio Omodeo* began his long rule over the other artists, which lasted until August 27, 1522, by executing the present work.

It is needless to give the names of his colleagues and successors until the appointment of Carlo Amati, 1806, under whom the completion of the works, including the three pointed windows of the western façade, was resumed, and of his successor, P. Pastagalli, 1813.

Milan Cathedral is constructed of white marble. The plan is that of a Latin cross, the transepts projecting to the depth of one of their three bays beyond the aisles, of which there are two on either side of the nave, but one only on either side of the choir and transepts. From west to east the length of the Duomo is 490 feet, and its extreme breadth, i.e., at the transepts, 295 feet. The length of the nave is 279 feet, and its width, inclusive of the double aisles, is 197 feet.

The east end is formed of three sides of a nonagon, the choir aisles being continued round the apse as a procession path, but without any chapels, as in some German examples.† The architecture of the doors and windows of

* Heinrich von Gmünden, employed so early as from December 11, 1391, to May 31, 1392, was confused with Omodeo by M. Millin, whence the repute of Heinrich as "Zamodia."

† St Laurence and St Sebald, Nuremburg, the Cathedral at Munich, the Marien Kirche at Lippstadt, and the Dom at Verden.

the western façade is in the Renaissance style, and was executed about 1658, for the first three bays of the nave were an addition in front of the original façade, and were not vaulted until 1651-69.

About 1790 it was determined to Gothicize the west front, keeping the doors and windows, by Picchini, from designs by Pelligrini, on account of the richness of their workmanship. Its apex is 170 feet from the pavement.

The central buttresses are 195 feet high. The unsatisfactory central pinnacle, which terminates the lantern, was completed shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century by F. Croce; it rises 400 feet from the floor of the church, and features those of the façade. All the turrets, buttresses and pinnacles are surmounted with statues, and the roof is entirely covered with blocks of marble, fitted together with the greatest exactness.

The Cathedral of Milan has been wonderfully contrived to bury millions of money in ornaments which are never to be seen. Whole quarries of marble have been manufactured here into statues, rilievos, niches and notches, and high sculpture has been expended on objects which vanish individually in the mass.

Were two or three hundred of those statues removed, the rest would regain their due importance, and the fabric itself become more intelligible. These figures stand in rows, which cross and confound the vertical direction of the architecture; for here the eye naturally runs up the channelled buttresses, the lofty windows with their long mullions and flamboyant tracery, and the lateral spires, and can never keep in the horizontal line of the Greek entablature. This rage for sculpture has encircled the very tops of the great internal piers with statues, which tend

to conceal the groinings, just where they spring so finely into the vault, interrupting the immeasurable plumb-line and lessening the apparent height and exility admired in a Gothic pillar.

From its size, and the sumptuousness of its materials and adornment, the exterior of the Duomo at Milan will always appeal to the masses, while to the true artist with the beautiful proportions and studied simplicity of Amiens, Bourges, Chartres and Rheims fresh in his mind, it must appear vulgar and unsatisfactory. How this is accounted for I need not here recapitulate, having already dwelt upon the reason of the unsatisfactory nature of complete Italian Pointed in the introductory chapter. It is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding the changes to which I have alluded in the history of its erection, Milan Cathedral has a marvellously homogeneous character, and to those unversed in its chronology it would appear to be a Flowing Decorated work, the offspring of one mind.*

Within, there resides a solemnity which, in spite of certain defects, collects the soul and inspires devotion; indeed, I may go so far as to say that no work of men's hands so fills and elevates the mind with infinite awe, and, if I may so express it, sublime humility, as the interior of Milan Cathedral, with its calm holy twilight, which veils its lofty vaultings and dims its distant vistas. Again and again has the artist striven to embody all this, none per-

* The exterior of Milan Cathedral wears its most impressive aspect by moonlight. It was during a solitary midnight walk through the city that Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley came suddenly upon the huge marble Cathedral under this condition. The sight made a profound impression upon the distinguished English church composer, and the words, "How goodly are thy tents," instantly occurred to him. There and then he conceived the idea of setting them to music, and it is to this circumstance that we owe one of the most expressive and beautiful of Ouseley's anthems.

haps more successfully than Samuel Read in that view of the interior looking across the choir from the south transept which elicited such admiration at the Exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water Colours in 1857.

A rich tone is diffused over the interior of the Duomo at Milan by its being entirely composed of a particular description of marble brought from above the Lago Maggiore, to which time gives a fine yellow tint; and the pavement being laid in a mosaic pattern of red, white and blue marble, an ensemble of rich yet subdued colour is produced.

The great feature of the interior is its quadruple row of gigantic clustered pillars with their nine intercolumnations.

Fifty-two pillars support the vaultings of the roof, which, springing directly from them, gives an appearance of even greater loftiness than they would otherwise convey, although each pillar measures, capital and base included, no less than eighty feet. The capitals, designed by Filippino of Modena, are beautiful in themselves, but they are only a compromise between a form occurring in Germany, as, for instance, in the Church of Our Lady at Nuremburg, and the great, deep capitals with their three rows of leafage in the Cathedrals of Florence and Verona, and in St Petronio at Bologna. Had the ornamentation of the capitals been extended to the spring of the vault, they would have been unexceptionable; as it is, with all their richness, their effect is somewhat unmeaning. Taken by themselves, these capitals at Milan, to say nothing of their unique character, are unparalleled in their workmanship and in the manner in which it is introduced.

The lowest part of the capitals is formed by a wreath of foliage, mixed with figures of children and animals; above

is a circle of eight niches corresponding to the intervals between the eight shafts of the clustered pillar, each equipped with a canopied statue. The bases and plans of the pillars are equally anomalous. The diameter of the four enormous pillars which support the lantern is one-fifth greater than that of the others. Two of these colossal supports are encircled by pulpits of bronze and silver, begun by the directions of the exemplary St Carlo, and completed by his nephew, Cardinal Frederigo Borromeo.* These are covered by basso-rilievos by Andrea Pellizone, and rest on colossal caryatid figures of the four Evangelists and the four Latin doctors—Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose and Augustine, modelled by Brambilla and cast by Busca. In the first bay on either side of the choir is an organ case commensurate in size with its colossal surroundings, and of that rich Renaissance type so common throughout Italy. The general effect of the choir, with its pendent lamps, the great rood placed upon a beam extending across the eastern arch of the lantern, and the richly carved stalls representing scenes from the history of St Augustine and St Ambrose, is solemn and grand, and in every way calculated to set off the impressive ritual observed here.

In 1699 Addison, having obtained a pension from the Whig ministers for the purpose of enabling him to travel,† left England for Italy. After spending over a year in France, in order to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the language to qualify him for diplomatic employment, he set out from Marseilles to Genoa in a small tartane. He encountered danger in one of the Mediterranean squalls, and was com-

* From the northern of these pulpits the Epistle and Gospel are sung, agreeably to the Ambrosian ritual at High Mass.

† See page 132.



Milan Cathedral: View across Choir.

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pelled to land at Monaco. The voyagers tried to creep along the shore in a little boat, but the roughness of the sea made them land at Savona. From thence they travelled over very rugged mountains and precipices to Genoa, whence they travelled by road to Milan, stopping on the way at Pavia.

At that time everything Gothic was held in disesteem, and, as will be seen from the following description, Addison was not impressed by the Cathedral:

"I could not stay long in Milan without going to see the great church that I had heard so much of, but was never more deceived in my expectations than at my first entering; for the front, which was all I had seen of the outside, is not half finished, and the inside is so smutted with dust and the smoke of lamps that neither the marble nor the silver nor brasswork show themselves to an advantage. This vast Gothic pile of building is all of marble, except the roof, which would have been of the same matter with the rest had not its weight rendered it improper for that part of the building. But for the reason I have just now mentioned, the outside of the church looks much whiter and fresher than inside; for where the marble is so often washed with rains it preserves itself more beautiful and unsullied than in those parts that are not at all exposed to the weather. That side of the church, indeed, which faces the Tramontane wind is much more unsightly than the rest, by reason of the dust and smoke that are driven against it. This profusion of marble, though astonishing to strangers, is not very wonderful in a country that has so many veins of it within its bowels. But though the stones are cheap, the working of them is very expensive. It is generally said there are eleven thousand statues about the church; but they reckon into

the account every particular figure in the history pieces and several little images which make up the equipage of those that are larger. There are, indeed, a great multitude of such as are bigger than life. I reckoned about two hundred and fifty on the outside of the church, though I only told three sides of it, and these are not half so thick set as they intend them. The statues are all of marble, and generally well cut; but the most valuable one they have is a *St Bartholomew*, new flayed, with his skin hanging over his shoulders. It is esteemed worth its weight in gold. They have inscribed this verse on its pedestal, to show the value they have for the workman:

> "Non me Praxiteles, sed Marcus finxit Agrati.
> (Lest at the sculptor doubtfully you guess,
> 'Tis Marc Agrati, not Praxiteles.")

The floor of Milan Cathedral was of a uniform level till the time of St Carlo Borromeo, who by the aid of the architect Pellegrini raised the choir considerably, and constructed an undercroft or winter choir of Renaissance style. From it the chapel containing the remains of St Charles is entered.

Bishop of Milan from 1560 to 1584, Carlo Borromeo is a saint whom the most bigoted Protestant must reverence, for his life was made up of the noblest Christian virtues: benevolence, humility, self-sacrifice, courage and disinterestedness. Unostentatious as he was benevolent, such an exhibition as is presented by the disposition of his remains amid silver, gems and crystal, would be most distasteful to one whose motto was *Humilitas*, and who, could he reappear on earth, would order his bones to be buried and the jewels to be sold and given to the poor.

Probably few of my readers are aware that St Charles

Borromeo was a writer on Ecclesiology in the strictest sense of the term; but I can assure them that he was so. Among the various writings of that sainted prelate are two treatises (intended, like everything which he produced, for the practical good of his people) on Ecclesiastical Buildings and on Ecclesiastical Furniture, of which the first-named was introduced to the English public fifty-five years ago in a translation, as both works had already been given to learned readers in a reprint of the original text, in a cheap form, by L'Abbé Van Drival of Arras two years previously.

One cannot better describe the particularity with which St Charles deals with his subject than by saying that the writing which most nearly resembles his compositions in the method of treatment, although falling short of them in the minuteness of its prescriptions, is the *Hints to Church Builders*, published early in the days of the great Victorian High Church Revival by the Cambridge Camden Society. Indeed, had the latter work emanated from strangers, one would have been tempted to suppose that the hint came from Milan. The main difference (the needs of the two communions apart) consists—as might be supposed, considering the circumstances under which in the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries the subject was undertaken—in the Camden Society's volume dealing with hints, the Prelate's with requirements; and in the former's accordingly abounding with references to particular precedents, which are wanting in the more authoritative codex.

As a link in the catena of *Ecclesiology* opposed to Oratorianism, or—as it might with equal propriety be styled —Jesuitism, these writings possess a peculiar value. Indeed, under the guise of a corpus of enactments, they form a

protest against that growing neglect of traditionary worship, which, in a later age and another country, called forth the more copious, though of course less magisterial, denunciations of a Thiers and a Le Brun Desmarettes. Accordingly, in spite of the fame of their writer, they lay dormant till the modern revival again brought their teaching into fashion.

There is much in this fascinating contribution to ecclesiological literature that I should like to quote, did space permit, but one or two matters, chiefly bearing upon the great church which forms one of the subjects of this chapter, I cannot forbear touching upon.

St Charles Borromeo was not a medievalist. The basilica pure and simple (except in so far as it does not involve the celebrant facing the people) was his dominant ideal, and his entire architectural tractate was a scheme, very masterly in its treatment, of accommodating that type to the actual requirements of the Roman and Ambrosian rituals respectively.

It may safely be said that the church of St Ambrogio was present to his mind during every page which he wrote. As for an instance, he takes occasion to proscribe side doors for the admission of the laity, and to order doors of an unequal number at the west end. This limitation does not arise out of the Gothic churches of Italy, nor the Renaissance, while it curiously illustrates St Charles's own proceedings in his Cathedral, where it is well known that he stopped up the transept doors, throwing out apsidal chapels in their place. So too, he enjoins, what in his day had become an obsolete arrangement, the atrium. Who can doubt what example he was thinking of when he penned this injunction? Moreover, he holds up the circular and detached

baptistery as not only the highest but the most desirable form of that portion of the church.

Accordingly it is clear thoughout the treatise, that the last thing which its writer dreamed of was prescribing the construction of a pointed church. The style present to his eye throughout was such a grave modification of Italian as a basilica built under his superintendence would naturally exhibit. As an instance of one of the prescriptions, I quote the short Chapter XII, *de Choro:*

"Chori præterea locus, a populi statione, ut vetus structura et disciplinæ ratio obstendit, seclusus, cancellisque septus, cum ad altare majus esse debeat, sive ab interiori parte (ut antiqui instituti est) illud circumdet; sive a posteriori sit (quia vel Ecclesiæ situs, vel altaris positio, vel regionis consuetudo sic postulat) usque adeo late, longeque, ubi pro situs spatio potest, patere, etiam in hemicycli, vel in alterius formæ, pro ratione capellæ Ecclesiæve, modum, architecti judicio debet, ut et amplitudine, et ornatu item decenti, Ecclesiæ dignitati, clerique multitudini apte respondeat."

If in this Duomo at Milan we do not feel the poetry of architecture to its full extent, we can understand the wondrous effects produced by the arrangement of light and shadow to perfection, which, during the daily course of the sun, is seen here in the most enchanting manner, every moment producing a fresh effect. First, there is the burst of light at the eastern end, when the whole choir and apse are illuminated from the rising sun; then the southern transept and aisles receive the reflection of noonday; the light gradually passing round, till the classical western windows with their not very felicitous stained glass are lighted up with the glowing tints of sunset, every capital with its

coronal of niched figures catching the warm light which penetrates up to the choir, now wrapt in sombre shade; till, imperceptibly fading as twilight comes stealing on, each detail becoming less and less distinct, the whole perspective is lost in general obscurity relieved only by the six great candles on the high altar,* the pair of seven lamps pendent at the entrance to the choir, the lamp high up on the rood-beam marking the presence of the Nail of the Crucifixion, and by the four burning at the sepulchre of St Carlo Borromeo beneath the great dome.

Then the five vast aisles of this stupendous fabric produce such a wonderful variety of outline and perspective that they assume a new aspect at every step; indeed the same structure, seen from different situations, appears like a totally different edifice.

> O Milan, O the chanting quires;
> The giant windows' blazon'd fires;
> The height, the space, the gloom, the glory!
> A mount of marble, a hundred spires.
>
> *Tennyson.*

While awaiting the commencement of the Divine Offices within the dusky choir of the Duomo on this beautiful June morning, the angels of architecture had many lovely and curious things to tell, and unfolded the inner meanings of pillars and arches, roof and windows, lights and shadows.

And, as I listened, every now and then it seemed as if they were telling things that I had always known before, and I saw that the whole building was, as it were, a Sacrament, and that every outward and visible form had an

*There being an Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament on the occasion of my visit, these were kept burning all day.

inward and spiritual meaning which gave new dignity and power. And when a solemn introductory piece was played upon the organ, I felt that the angels of music too were there as witnesses to the consecration of the beauty of melody and harmony to the service of the temple, and by their presence adding a solemnity and pathos which would not be found in such a degree without them.

It is impossible to leave the study of Christian antiquities at Milan without considering what may be styled a monument, and that among the most venerable in character and claim: that Ambrosian liturgy, now confined to this sole archdiocese, but once, as Durandus reports, in use, whose extensiveness surpassed even that of the Roman, and till so late as the sixteenth century retained at the altars of Bologna and Capua. Nor is it one of the least benefits secured to this illustrious Church by the great and good St Carlo Borromeo, to have maintained, as he did, the place and practice of this primitive ritual against the aggressive attempt of the Papacy, which in his day aimed at its suppression. Both St Carlo and his nephew, the Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, published the Milanese Missal, with declaration of their resolve to preserve the Ambrosian rite incorrupt. Referred by some writers to St Barnabas and to the Bishop St Mirocletus,—to St Ambrose himself only in respect to the numerous additions of antiphons, hymns and arrangements of psalms for chanting, due to him, as well as the system of vocal music he introduced, from Oriental example,—it is generally acknowledged to be, in its main composition, of higher antiquity than the great saint whose name it bears; perhaps to a considerable extent modified and reordered after the See of Milan had been restored from the suppression it underwent at the hands of the Longobards.

At the Solemn High Mass which I attended on the morning of Friday, June 22, I had opportunities for noticing the several peculiarities in the Ambrosian ritual, placed as I was in the benches arranged chorus-wise just within the low screen which separates the choir from the crossing.

Among them were the *Confractorium*, an anthem sung whilst the celebrant breaks the consecrated species; the covering of the head, evidently of Oriental origin, in mark of reverence, the mitre being worn by the priest, deacon, subdeacon and ceremoniarius; the chanting of the Epistle and Gospel in peculiar tones from the northern ambon, and the kneeling of the deacon and subdeacon at the north and south ends of the altar during the prayers, their hands being folded on the mensa.

I also observed that peculiar Ambrosian use for censing the altar, the deacon going all round it for this purpose attended by the subordinates. At the *Lavabo* the deacon stood at the priest's right hand with the towel, the subdeacon at his left hand with the ewer, and the acolyte between them with the bason. At the consecration they all knelt in a row behind the celebrant in this order, counting from the north: subdeacon, thurifers, acolyte, deacon; while behind them knelt four taper-bearers. Immediately after the Communion the subdeacon veiled and carried out the chalice.

The censers used at Milan are open and shallow; consequently they cannot be swung high like the common covered ones.

But the most interesting usage that obtains in Milan Cathedral is the offering of the sacramental elements by some members of a confraternity known as the Scuola di St Ambrogio.



Milan Cathedral: View across Transept.

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It consists of ten aged people of both sexes, certain of whom appear at every High Mass in grave costume of monastic fashion, bearing, in silver and glass vessels, the bread and wine for sacred use. This well-known primitive and once medieval observance takes place at the Offertorium, the males slowly passing up to the altar and the females halting just without the rails to the choir.

These *Vecchioni*, as they are styled, are maintained from the revenues of the Cathedral for the purpose of making the offertory directly after the *Oratio super Sindonem*, which answers to the prayer of the Greek Church, μετὰ τὸ ἁπλωθῆναι τὸ εἰλητόν; and Milan Cathedral is the only church in Europe where the old oblation alluded to so innumerable times by the Fathers is retained.*

When I witnessed this ceremonial—accompanied by music commensurate in grandeur and solemnity—in the glorious cathedral, it impressed me as a touching and deeply significant accessory to dignified worship, forming a link that unites the ancient with the modern Church, not well laid aside by the more extended practice of our time, and also of avail to neutralize that character of ritual exclusiveness often objected to in the Latin Catholic celebrations as the cause of absolute severance between the officiating clergy and the people.

There was an immense concourse of persons present, but there was no impression of a crowd. The church was not thronged, not even full; there still seemed room for a nation to come in. In ordinary buildings, when they are filled to their utmost capacity, the architecture disappears and the mind and eye are occupied only with the men and women. But the Duomo at Milan can never be thus put down.

* Vide Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* IV, 854.

Fill it full of human life, it would still be something greater than them all. Men, however numerous they might be, would be but appendages to its mountainous bulk. As the sky is more than the stars, and the wooded valley more than the trees, so is Milan Cathedral more than any amount of humanity that can be gathered within its arms.

A LIST OF SOME OF THE MOST REMARKABLE PICTURES AND WALL-PAINTINGS IN THE CHURCHES DESCRIBED OR ALLUDED TO IN THIS WORK

NEXT to their architecture the most interesting feature of the Italian Cathedrals and Churches is their adornment with paintings, either in the form of frescoes covering vast spaces of wall and roof, or of pictures on wood and canvas fixed into altarpieces or suspended against the walls. Indeed one may say that, in not a few instances, where a fine Lombardo-Romanesque or Pointed Gothic church has had its interior tampered with during the era of classicism, the work of the architect will be regarded by most people with but languid interest beside that of the artist.

In the foregoing chapters I have abstained almost entirely from mentioning the pictures and wall-paintings with which the greater number of the churches described are so richly endowed, for the reason that such constant reference would become wearisome upon repetition. It has, therefore, been deemed expedient to present the most interesting and important of these works of art in catalogue form, a few notes—brief ones only, from exigencies of space—being here and there given.

The recurrence of one or more painters' names in the churches of some particular city is accounted for by the fact that these persons were natives of the surrounding district, or that they formed a school of painting which flourished in that particular city.

Thus at Verona we have Giolfino, Domenico and Fran-

cesco Morone, Girolamo dai Libri, Felice Brusasorzi and Caroto; at Padua, Andrea Mantegna and Giotto; at Venice, Cima da Conegliano, Tintoretto and Titian, Paolo Veronese, Vivarini and the Bellini; at Ferrara, Dosso Dossi, Garofalo, Cosima Tura, Bastianino, Carlo Bononi and Niccolo Rosselli; at Bologna, Annibale and Lodovico Caracci, Franceschini, Guido Reni, Tiarini, the Francias, Guercino and Innocenza da Imola; at Parma, Correggio and Parmegianino; at Brescia, Pietro Rosa, Bernardino Gandini, Moretto, Romanino and Foppa the younger; and at Novara, Vercelli and Milan, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Lanini, Borgognone and the Luini.

The sacred painting of Italy is so full of the traces of legendary literature, that unless we travel with such fascinating companions as Cicognara, Kügler, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and Mrs Jameson, it is vain to think of fully entering into its spirit, or even of merely comprehending its literal meaning without having some knowledge of that vast storehouse of romantic fiction which the Church accumulated around its ancient heroes. Much of it is absurd, not a little profane, irreligious and even repellent; but a great deal is beautiful, pathetic, practical and touching in the highest degree.

VERONA

The Cathedral

Liberale, The Adoration of the Three Kings. *Giolfino*, SS. Roch, Anthony the Hermit, Bartholomew and Sebastian (second altar on right). *Morone*, SS. James and John, with head of the painter below. *Giolfino*, The Last Supper (fourth altar on right). *Titian*, The Assumption (first altar on left). In the sacristy: *Morone*, SS. Peter and Paul. In semi-dome of apse: *Giulio Romano*, The Assumption.

Sta Anastasia

Girolamo dai Libri, The Blessed Virgin with SS. Thomas Aquinas, Augustine, a Kneeling Friar and Two Donors (in the south transept). *Giolfino*, The Pentecost. *Michele da Verona*, the same subject (fourth chapel on left). *Giolfino*, SS. George and Erasmus (second chapel on left). High altar: *Torelli*, The Death of St Peter Martyr, imitated from Titian.

Cappella Pellegrini

(One of Sanmichele's most successful productions). Left-hand side of choir: *Benaglio*, The Blessed Virgin Mary and Child with Saints. On shutters of the organ: *Morone*, SS. Francesco and Bernardino.

Sta Elena

(Adjoining the Baptistery of the Cathedral) *Felice Brusasorzi*, St Helen and other Saints.

St Fermo Maggiore

Caroto, Madonna with Infant and St Anne and other Saints. *Domenico Morone*, SS. Anthony of Padua, Biagio and Nicholas (left of choir). *Orbetto*, The Nativity (third chapel left). *Giov. Batt. del Moro*, SS. Nicholas, Augustine, Anthony the Hermit (first chapel on left). *Torbido*, Virgin and Child with Archangel Raphael, Tobias, and St Catherine (third chapel on right).

St Giorgio in Braida

Paolo Veronese, The Martyrdom of St George, a large and vigorous picture in which the painter has represented himself on horseback, to the right, forms the high-altar-piece. *Farinati*, Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes (1603). *Felice Brusasorzi*, The Fall of the Manna (completed by his pupils, *Ottici* and *Orbetto*).

Sta Maria in Organo

Cavazzolo and *Brusasorzi*, Small Landscapes in Panels of Stalls. *Guercino*, Sta Francesca Romana (in south transept). *Girolamo dai Libri*, Blessed Virgin Mary and Child with SS. Catherine and Stephen (in sacristy).

SS. Nazario e Celso

Brusasorzi, Choir of Angels on shutters of organ. *Bonsignori*, SS. Biagio and Sebastian, with (above) the Blessed Virgin Mary and Child. *Girolamo dai Libri*, Martyrdom of several Saints (forming the high-altar-piece with its predella).

St Paolo

Girolamo dai Libri, Holy Family and St Paul and Two Donors (third altar on right). *Caroto*, Blessed Virgin Mary and Child with SS. Peter and Paul (at high altar). *Il Moretto*, Blessed Virgin Mary and Child and four female Saints (fifth altar, left). *Girolamo dai Libri*, Blessed Virgin Mary with SS. Zeno, Lorenzo and Giustiniani, a masterpiece in delicacy of work and beauty of design (fourth altar on left). *Caroto*, SS. Sebastian and Rosco (third altar on left). *Caroto*, St Ursula and Virgins. *Brusasorzi*, Blessed Virgin Mary and Archangels (first altar on left). *Jacopo Tintoretto*, The Baptism of our Lord (over west door).

St Lorenzo

Brusasorzi, B.V.M. and Child with St John Baptist and a Bishop.

St Tomasso Cantuariense

Brusasorzi, B.V.M. and Child with SS. Catherine, Thomas à Becket, Francis, Cyril, Bernard and John Baptist.

St Stefano

Caroto, B.V.M. between SS. Andrew and Peter (in south transept).

Giolfino, B.V.M. with SS. Placida, Maur and Simplicio. *Brusasorzi*, The Epiphany (to right and left of high altar).

Brusasorzi, St Stephen preceded by the Holy Innocents.

St Zeno

Andrea Mantegna, The Madonna enthroned with eight Angels, and SS. Peter, Paul, John Evan., Augustine, Benedict, Lawrence, Gregory and John Bapt (over high altar). The painting in the predella is a copy of the original.

VICENZA

The Cathedral

Montagna, B.V.M. and Child with SS. Mary Magdalene and Lucia (in fourth chapel left). Our Lord with SS. Sebastian and John Baptist (in same chapel).

Lorenzo, B.V.M. and Child with Saints in thirty-one compartments on gold ground (1366) (in chapel five, right). The frescoes in this chapel are attributed to Mantegna.

St Lorenzo

Mantegna, fresco of martyrdom of St Paul (in chapel left of choir).

Montagna, a Pieta, between SS. Francis and Bernardino (above altar in south transept). SS. Lorenzo and Vincenzo, with view of a church in background (over altar in third chapel right).

La Santa Corona

Bart. Montagna, The Magdalene enthroned with saints (in second chapel left).

Bassano, St Anthony giving alms (third chapel left).

Verda, a fourteenth-century Madonna crowned (in fourth chapel left).

Giovanni Bellini, The Baptism (fifth chapel left).

Speranza, a fresco of B.V.M. and Donors (to left of entrance).

St Rocco

Buonconsiglio, B.V.M. and Child with SS. Peter and Paul, Vincent Ferrer, and Sebastian (high-altar-piece).

St Stefano

Palma Vecchio, B.V.M. and Child with SS. George and Lucian (in north transept) highly extolled by Cicognara.

Tintoretto, St Paul; restored from "abject squalor" by the Parish Priest in 1804 (first chapel, left).

PADUA

The frescoes and paintings in the Baptistery of the Cathedral, in the Arena Chapel and the Church of the Eremitani are described on pp. 117 et seq.

Cathedral

Francesco Bassano, The Flight into Egypt and the Epiphany (in sacristy). *Sassoferrato*, Head of the Madonna. *Padovanino*, B.V.M. and Child (copied from Titian).

St Antonio

Jacopo Avanzi and *Altichieri da Zevo*, series of frescoes in Chapel of St Felix (1376). *J. Montagnano*, The Crucifixion, with SS. Sebastian, Gregory, Ursula, Bonaventura and twelve heads of Prophets (on fifth pier, south). *By an unknown Artist*, B.V.M. and Child, with SS. Joseph and Chiara and a Franciscan Donor (on second pier, north).

Chapel of St Giorgio

Altichieri and *Jacopo dei Avanzi*, frescoes.

St Francesco

Girolamo da Santa Croce (1530), frescoes in second chapel on south.

St Gaetano

Titian, a small half-figure of the B.V.M. (in chapel of Holy Sepulchre).

Sta Giustina

Paolo Veronese, Martyrdom of the Patron (high-altar-piece). *Luca Giordano*, Death of St Scolastica (chapel four, south). *Palma Giovane*, St Benedict with SS. Placidus and Maurus (chapel five, south). *Parodi*, Dead Christ with B.V.M. (south) and St John (chapel south of choir).

Sta Maria in Vanzo

Bartolommeo Montagna, B.V.M. and Child, with SS. Peter, John Baptist, Catherine and Paul (high altar). *Jacopo Bassano*, The



Padua: The Shrine of St. Antonio.

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Entombment (chapel to south of choir). *Maganza*, The Madonna, with the Virgin Martyrs, Barbara, Agnes, Giustina, Catherine, Lucia, Apollonia and Cecilia (fourth chapel, south).

St Michele

Jacopo da Verona, The Adoration of the Magi (1397).

VENICE

AFTER the churches of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and Sta Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, both described on page 33, the finest Pointed church in Venice is that of St Stefano. As in the two churches above-named, the influence of the chief Order of Friars in the style of ecclesiastical architecture is strongly shewn, not only in St Stefano, but in many others, especially in the frequent use of the apse as a termination for both choir and side chapels. St Stefano, built about 1360 by a monastery of Austin Friars, has a rich west front decorated with very delicate ornaments in terra-cotta. The eastern apse extends over a small canal, and is supported on a wide bridge-like arch. Of the same type are St Gregorio and Sta Maria della Carità, both now desecrated. St Gregorio has a very beautiful cloister of mid-fourteenth-century date, the columns of which support, not a series of arches, but flat wooden lintels. On the capital of each column rests a moulded wooden corbel to diminish the bearing of the lintel—a very characteristic Venetian mode of construction, used, not only for cloisters, but also for ground floors of houses, upper loggias and other places, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

One of the most interesting early churches is that of St Giacomo dall' Orio, built early in the thirteenth century

with a complicated many-columned plan, the aisles being carried along the transepts as well as the nave. The roof is a very good example of the wooden coved type, of which the finest are at St Zeno and St Fermo at Verona, and SS. Philip and James at Padua. One of the columns in the south transept is a monolith of the precious Verde-antico, of marvellous size and beauty, probably brought from some Byzantine church.

Of the Early Renaissance, Venice exhibits some beautiful examples in the western façade of St Zaccaria, and the little church of Sta Maria dei Miracoli.

In the sixteenth century, and even later, some very noble churches of the Later Renaissance were built in Venice by Jacopo Sansovino, Andrea Palladio and their school. One of Sansovino's best churches—that of St Geminiano—was destroyed at the beginning of the last century in order to complete the west side of the Piazza San Marco. The large church of St Giorgio Maggiore, on an island opposite the Ducal Palace, was built by Palladio, and may be taken as a fair example of the faults and merits of his style. This church, and that of Sta Maria della Salute, magnificently situated on a triangular piece of ground at the junction of the Canal Grande with the Canal della Giudecca, are, perhaps, the most familiar to us, from their appearance in the general views of Venice. The Salute church was built by Baldassare Longhena, in 1632, as a thank-offering of the Venetian senate for the cessation of the great plague in 1630. Though dull and heavy in detail, it has a well-designed dome, and the ensemble of the building is pleasing from its skilful arrangement.

Of the other churches built in Venice between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the following are the

most remarkable: St Francesco della Vigna, begun in 1554 by Sansovino, and completed by Palladio; St Giorgio de' Greci (the church of the Greek rite in Venice), by Sansovino; St Giovanni Crisostomo, by Tullio Lombardo (1489); The Madonna dei Miracoli, a fusion of the Byzantine and Italian styles, by Pietro Lombardo (1480–89); St Pietro di Castello, by Smeraldi and Grapiglia (1594–1621); Il Redentore, considered one of Palladio's finest efforts (begun 1577); St Salvatore, by Tullio Lombardo and Sansovino (c. 1534); and St Sebastiano, by F. Castiglione, of Cremona (1506).

Most of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century churches in Venice are in the worst possible taste, extravagantly pretentious in style, and become very tiresome upon repetition.

A large number of the Venetian churches still possess campanili of great beauty, and ranging from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. Of these the fourteenth century ones attached to St Giacomo di Rialto, and Sta Maria Gloriosa dei Frari may be singled out for special admiration.

Almost every church in Venice contains one or more specimens of the work of some great artist, those mentioned in the annexed list being the most worthy of attention:

Sta Maria del Carmine

Cima da Conegliano, The Nativity (at second altar, right). *Tintoretto*, The Presentation in the Temple (at last altar, right). *Lor. Lotto*, St Nicholas (at second altar, left).

St Cassiano

Tintoretto, The Crucifixion, Descent into Hades and Resurrection (in apse). *Palma Vecchio*, St John Baptist and four Saints (at first altar, right).

Sta Caterina

Paolo Veronese, The Marriage of St Catherine, St Francesco della Vigna. *Paolo Veronese*, The Resurrection (in fourth chapel, right). *Giovanni Bellini*, The B.V.M. and Child, with four Saints and a Worshipper, said to be the painter's portrait, (altar-piece of the Cappella Santa).

Jac. del Fiore, altarpiece in sacristy.

Sta Maria Assunta dei Gesuiti

Titian, The Martyrdom of St Lawrence (in first chapel, left); The Assumption (in north transept). *Tintoretto*, The Circumcision (in sacristy).

St Giacomo di Rialto

Titian, The Martyrdom of St Lawrence (in first chapel, left). *Tintoretto*, The Assumption (in second chapel, on left). Marriage of the Virgin and Annunciation, in first chapel on right.

SS. Giovanni e Paolo

Carpaccio or *Giovanni Bellini*, The B.V.M. and Saints (above first altar, to right). *Vivarini*, St Augustine, seated (north transept). *Rocco Marconi*, Christ between SS. Peter and Andrew (to right of entrance). *Lorenzo Lotto*, St Antonio, Abp of Florence, distributing alms (to left of entrance). *Paolo Veronese*, Adoration of the Shepherds (second chapel, left of altar). *Carpaccio*, restored by *Girolamo da Udine*, The Coronation of the Virgin, with many figures (first chapel on left).

St Giobbe

Gentile Bellini, The Doge, Crist. Moro.

Giovanni Bellini, B.V.M. with SS. John Baptist and Catherine.

Vivarini, The Annunciation (all in the sacristy).

St Giorgio Maggiore

Bassano, The Nativity (first altar, right).

Tintoretto, The martyrdom of Saints; the Virgin crowned (at third and fourth altars); the Falling of the Manna, and the Last Supper (in central chapel).



Venice: Interior of Sta. Maria Assunta.

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St Giovanni in Bragola

Vivarini, SS. Martin, Jerome and Andrew. *Paris Bordone*, The Last Supper. *Cima da Conegliano*, SS. Helena and Constantina (in the sacristy); the Baptism of our Lord (high altar).

St Giovanni Crisostomo

Giov. Bellini, St Jerome and two Saints (first altar, right). *Seb. del Piombo*, St John Chrysostom and other Saints (high altar).

Sta Maria dei Frari

Salviati, Presentation in the Temple with SS. Paul, Helen, Bernardino, Augustine, Mark and two others. *Vivarini*, B.V.M. and Child with SS. Andrew, Nicholas, Paul and Peter (1482). *Giovanni Bellini*. B.V.M. and Child with SS. Ambrose, Augustine, James and Benedict (1488) (over altar in sacristy). *Salviati*, The Assumption (over high altar), Bernardino Licinio. B.V.M. and Child and saints (over altar of chapel left of high altar). *Vivarini*, SS. Mark, John Baptist, Jerome, Augustine and Matthew (1474), (altarpiece on west wall of north transept). *Titian*, The *Pala dei Pesari*. The Virgin, seated on an elevated situation within noble architecture, holding the Divine Infant, who is regarding St Francis; below are St Peter with a book, and St George, bearing a standard on which is displayed the Pesaro arms, with those of the Pope Alexander VI. The Donatorio, a bishop, and five other members of the Pesaro family are introduced.

The collection of tombs in this church, of all dates from the thirteenth century downwards, is perhaps unrivalled in Europe.

La Madonna dell' Orto

Tintoretto, The Last Judgement; The Worshipping of the Golden Calf; The Martyrdom of St Agnes. *Cima da Conegliano*, St John Baptist and other saints. *Vandyke*, The Martyrdom of St Lawrence.

Sta Maria della Misericordia

Cima da Conegliano, Tobias and the Angel.

St Louis of Toulouse

Tintoretto, The Epiphany. *Palma Giovane*, The Raising of Lazarus.

Sta Maria Formosa

Palma il Vecchio, St Barbara and other Saints (first altar, right).

Sta Maria della Salute

Luca Giordano, The Purification, Assumption and Nativity of the B.V.M. (in three first chapels, right). *Titian*, The eight smaller compartments on vault of choir; the evangelists and doctors. *Il Padovino*, The Madonna della Salute. *Tintoretto*, The Marriage at Cana. *Palma Giovane*, Samson and Jonas (all in sacristy).

St Pantaleone

Paolo Veronese, St Pantaleone holding a Child (in second chapel, right). *G. and A. da Murano*, The Coronation of the Virgin (chapel, left of high altar).

Il Redentore

F. Bassano, The Nativity (first altar, right). *Tintoretto*, The Flagellation (third altar, right); The Ascension (first on left). *Giov. Bellini*, B.V.M. and Child with two Angels; The Madonna between SS. John Evan. and Catherine; The Madonna between SS. Jerome and Francis.

St Salvatore

Titian, The Annunciation (at high altar). *Giov. Bellini*, The Supper at Emmaus (in chapel, left of high altar).

St Sebastiano

Paolo Veronese, The roof of this church is almost covered with his paintings, of which the principal subjects are taken from the Book of Esther. This church is the burial-place of the painter (d. May 14, 1588). The paintings in the Cappella Maggiore are entirely the work of Veronese; also those on the shutters of the organ.

St Zaccaria

Giovanni Bellini, The Virgin and Child, with four Saints (second altar, left); The Circumcision (in the choir). *Tintoretto*, Birth of John the Baptist (third altar, left).

Jacopo Bellini, Frescoes on semi-dome of apse (third altar, left).

FERRARA

The Cathedral

Garofalo, B.V.M. & Child & two female saints (third chapel, right). *Cosimo Tura*, Martyrdoms of Saints (fourth chapel, right). *Bastianino*, The Last Judgement (in semi-dome of apse). *Cosimo Tura*, The Annunciation (chapel to right of choir). *Francia*, Coronation of B.V.M. with ten Saints and an Innocent (sixth chapel, to left). *Garofalo*, Madonna with SS. Paul, Giustina, Catherine and another.

St Benedetto

Dosso Dossi, A Crucifixion. *Scarsellino*. Martyrdom of St Catherine; Assumption; *Luca Longhi*, The Circumcision.

St Cristoforo

Niccolo Rosselli, The Mysteries, in twelve chapels.

St Paolo

Scarsellino, The Descent of the Holy Ghost. *Bastianino*, The Resurrection.

BOLOGNA

The Cathedral

Fiorini and *Aretusi*, Christ's Charge to St Peter (in vault of apse). *Lodovico Caracci*, The Annunciation (on arch above high altar). *Donato Creti*, B.V.M. with Infant Saviour in clouds surrounded by Angels, with St Ignatius before her (in Chapel of the Sacrament). *Ercole Grazini*, The Baptism of our Lord (in Baptistery).

St Bartolommeo di Porta

Lod. Caracci, St Carlo Borrommeo (second chapel, right). *Albanis*, The Annunciation "del bell'Angelo" (in fourth chapel right); by the

same, The Nativity; Dream of St Joseph. *Franceschini*, The Martyrdom of St Bartholomew (over high altar). *Guido Reni*, B.V.M. and Child (in north transept).

St Bartolommeo di Reno

Lod. Caracci, The Circumcision and Adoration of the Magi.

Sta Cecilia

Frescoes, by early *Bolognese Artists*, *F. Francia*, *Lor. Costa*, *G. Francia*, *Chiodarolo* and *Amico Aspertini*.

The Celestini Church

Lucio Massari, The Saviour appearing to the Magdalene in form of a Dove.

Corpus Domini

M. Franceschini and *L. Quaini*, Frescoes in Cupola; Death of St Joseph. *Lod. Caracci*, Burial of the Virgin.

St Domenico

Tiarini, The Child brought to Life (in sixth chapel, right). *Guido*, The Glory of Paradise (fresco in apse). *Leonello Spada*, St Dominic Burning the Heretical Books (on left nearest the iron gate). *Guercino*, St Thomas Aquinas writing on subject of the Eucharist (tenth chapel, right). *Luca Cangiasi*, The Nativity (in sacristy). *Leonello Spada*, St Jerome (in sacristy). *Filippino Lippi*, Marriage of St Catherine (chapel right of choir). *Gia. Francia*, altarpiece with SS. Michael, Dominic, Francis and our Lord (in chapel adjoining north transept). *Lod. Caracci*, *Guido and B. Cesi* (a series of small paintings over altar in chapel of the Madonna del Rosario).

St Giacomo Maggiore

Cavedoni, Christ appearing to Giov. da Facondo (fifth chapel, right). *B. Passerotti*, B.V.M. and Saints (in sixth chapel, right). *Innocenzo da Imola*, The Marriage of St Catherine (in eighth chapel, right). *F. Francia*, B.V.M. and Child with four Angels and four Saints (altarpiece of chapel behind choir).

St Giovanni in Monte

Guercino, St Joseph with the Infant Christ; St Jerome (third chapel, right). *Lor. Costa*, The Virgin enthroned with Saints.

St Stefano

Jacopo Tintoretto, Christ washing the feet of the Disciples; St John the Baptist with St Jerome; The Last Supper (all in sacristy). Angels playing on musical instruments, (seventh chapel, right); B.V.M. with the Almighty and the Saviour above, and Saints below (in choir).

St Gregorio

Annibale Caracci, Baptism of our Lord.

Sta Maria de' Servi

Guido, St Carlo (a fresco—painted gratuitously in one day; in ninth chapel, left). *Innocenzo da Imola*, The Annunciation (in the seventh chapel, left).

St Paolo

Guercino, St Gregory showing the Souls in Purgatory to the Almighty (above altar in south transept).

St Petronio

Costa, The Madonna and Saints (in seventh chapel, left). *Tiarini*, St Barbara (over altar in tenth chapel, left).

St Salvatore

Tiarini, The Nativity (in sixth chapel, right). *Innocenzo da Imola*, The Crucifixion with Saints (in seventh chapel, right). *Garofalo*, St John Baptist kneeling before Zacharias (in first chapel, left).

SS. Vitale e Agricola

F. Francia, The Madonna surrounded by Angels playing on musical instruments (in first chapel, left).

RAVENNA

Cathedral

Guido, The Fall of the Manna; The Meeting of Melchisedec and Abraham (in chapel of the Holy Sacrament). The Angel bringing food to Elijah (a fresco at entrance of sacristy). *Carlo Bonone*, The Grand Banquet of Ahasuerus (over great entrance).

Benevenuti, Death of St Peter Chrysologus; *Camuccini*, Consecration of the Church by Ursus (both in choir).

Sta Agata

Francesca da Cotignola, The Crucifixion. *Luca Longhi*, SS. Agatha, Catherine and Cecilia (one of his best works).

St Domenico

Niccolo Rondinello, The Virgin and Child with SS. Jerome, Dominic, Joseph, Francis of Assisi; The Annunciation; SS. Dominic and Peter; The Virgin and Child with the Magdalene and other Saints. *Luca Longhi*, The Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary; The Invention of the Cross. *Benedictus Armini*, B.V.M. and Child with Saints.

St Francesco

Sacchi d' Imola, The Madonna with the Donatoria.

St Giovanni Battista

Francesco Longhi, B.V.M. and Child with SS. Clement and Jerome; B.V.M. with SS. Matthew and Francis of Assisi.

Sta Maria in Porto

Palma Giovane, The Martyrdom of St Mark (third chapel, right). *Luca Longhi*, B.V.M. with St Augustine and other Saints (fifth chapel, left).

St Romualdo

(Chapel of the College of Ravenna)

Giambattista Barbini, frescoes in cupola; St Romualdo (in choir); frescoes in first chapel left of entrance. *Guercino*, St Romualdo (second chapel, left). *Franceschini*, SS. Bartholomew and Severus (first chapel, right). *Carlo Cignani*, St Benedict (second chapel, right). *Francesco da Cotignola*, The Raising of Lazarus (in sacristy). *Luca Longhi*, The Marriage at Cana (in refectory of adjoining convent).

St Vitalis

Francesco Gessi, St Benedict. *Andrea Barbiani*, St Gertrude. *Luca Longhi*, B.V.M. enthroned (in sacristy). *Barbara Longhi*, Sta Agata (in sacristy). *Francesco Longhi*, The Annunciation (in sacristy).

Giambattista Barbiani, Martyrdom of St Erasmus (in sacristy). *Camillo Procaccini*, Martyrdom of SS. Philip and James (in sacristy).

Sta Maria in Porto Fuori

Pupils of Giotto, many frescoes.

MODENA

The Cathedral

Dosso Dossi, The Madonna with Saints (in fourth chapel left).

St Pietro

Dosso Dossi, The Assumption (at third altar south).

PARMA

The Cathedral

Correggio, Fresco of the Assumption in the dome; others by *Lattanzio Gambara*, *J. Loschi* and *B. Grassi* (fifteenth century).

St Giovanni Evangelista

Correggio, Fresco of a Vision of St John in the cupola. *G. Francia*, The Infant Saviour adored by the B.V.M. and St Joseph second chapel, right). *G. Mazzola*, St James at the feet of the Virgin (in fourth chapel, right). *Parmegianino*, The Transfiguration (at extremity of choir); The Virgin offering a Palm Branch to SS. Catherine and Nicholas (in fourth chapel, left).

La Madonna della Steccata

Parmegianino, Moses Breaking the Tables of the Law (to left of entrance to choir); Adam and Eve and the Sybils, and The Virtues (over the organ). *Anselmi*, The Coronation of the Virgin (on vault over high altar).

St Alessandro

Parmegianino, The Virgin giving the Palm of Martyrdom to Sta Giustina (over high altar).

St Lodovico

Correggio, Mythological subjects in the dome of the Camera di San Paolo.

PIACENZA

The Cathedral

Guercino and *Morazzone*, frescoes in the dome. *Ludovici Caracci*, frescoes in choir and on vault of apse; St Martin dividing his cloak with the Beggar (in chapel left of choir).

Sta Maria di Campagna

Pordenone, frescoes in cupola and other parts.

CREMONA

Sta Agata

Gervasio Gatti, St Sebastian (1574). *Bernardino Campi*, The Assumption (1542) and four frescoes from Life of St Agatha.

Cathedral

Boccaccino, frescoes in north side of nave, eight scenes from Life of B.V.M. (1514). *Bembo*, The Epiphany and Presentation (1515). *Altobello Melone*, The Flight into Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents (1517). *Boccaccino*, Christ disputing with the Doctors (1518); A Madonna of the fourteenth century. *Boccaccino*, Christ and Four Patron Saints of Cremona (1506) (on vault of choir); The Annunciation (on front of easternmost arch). *Melone*, *Romanino* and *Pordenone*, frescoes on south wall of nave. *Luca Cattapani*, Gregory XIV with SS. Anthony of Padua and Paul before the Madonna (in chapel three, left). *Pordenone*, Madonna and Saints with Donor (in chapel one, right). *Cattapani*, Crucifixion with SS. Fermo and Jerome (1593), (chapel three, right). *Bernardino* and *Giulio Campi*, several paintings in Chapel of Blessed Sacrament. *Giorgio Caselli*, frescoes of Old Testament subjects in south transept (c. 1383).

St Abbondio

Malosso and *Sammachini*, frescoes in chief cupola from designs of *Giulio Campi*.

BERGAMO

Sta Maria Maggiore

Lorenzo Lotto, B.V.M. and Child with ten Saints (1516). This is the largest picture painted by him, and includes portraits of the founder of the church, Alessandro and Barbara Martinego. *Borgognone*, a Pieta.

St Spirito

Lotto, B.V.M. and Child with Saints (1521). *Previtali*, The same subject. *Agostino da Caversegno*, The Resurrection. *Previtali*, SS. John Baptist, Nicholas, Bartholomew, Joseph and Dominic. *Scipio Landensis*, B.V.M. and Child and SS. Peter and Paul. *Borgognone*, The Descent of the Holy Spirit (1508).

St Bernardino

Lotto, B.V.M. and Saints (1521).

St Alessandro della Croce

Moroni, Coronation of the Virgin. *Lotto*, The Holy Trinity (in sacristy). *Moroni*, The Crucifixion (in sacristy). *Previtali*, Six Franciscan Saints (in sacristy). *Girolamo da St Croce*, Coronation of the Virgin (in sacristy).

The Cathedral

G. Bellini, a small Madonna. *Moroni*, B.V.M. and Saints (1576). *Marco d' Oggiono*, Head of our Lord.

BRESCIA

Old Cathedral

Pietro Rosa, St Martin dividing his Cloak with the Beggar. *Bernardino Gandini*, Guardian Angels. *Moretto*, Abraham and Melchisedec, Last Supper, SS. Mark and Luke, Elijah Asleep, Abraham and Isaac. *Romanino*, Descent of the Manna, Visitation and Nativity of B.V.M. *Moretto*, The Assumption. *Moronei*, The Flagellation. *Cossali* and *Gaudini*, Miraculous Apparition of our Lord to Constantine.

New Cathedral

Palma Giovane, B.V.M. and SS. Carlo Borromeo and Fran cesco and Bp Marinzorzi as donor.

Sta Afra

Titian (?), The Woman taken in Adultery. *Paolo Veronese*, Martyrdom of Sta Afra. *Tintoretto*, The Transfiguration. *Palma Giovane*, SS. Faustina and Jovita. *Bassano*, Baptism of Sta Afra. *Procaccini*, B.V.M. and Child, with SS. Carlo Borromeo and Latinus.

Sta Agata

Foppa the Younger, Nativity and Adoration of the Magi. *Calisto da Lodi*, Martyrdom of St Agatha.

St Alessandro

Fra Angelico da Fiesole, The Annunciation (1432), *Vincenzo Civerchio*, Scenes from Life of B.V.M. in a predella.

St Clemente

Moretto, five paintings.

St Faustino Maggiore

Giambara, The Nativity.

St Francesco

Romanino, B.V.M. and Child, with St Francis, Anthony of Padua, Bonaventura and Louis (1502). *Moretto*, SS. Jerome, Margaret and Francis (1530). *Francesco da Prato di Caravaggio*, The Marriage of the Virgin (1547).

St Giovanni Evangelista

Moretto, Massacre of the Innocents; B.V.M. and Child with Saints (at high altar). *Maganza*, Two Prophets and Two Scenes from Life of St John Baptist. *Giovanni Bellini*, The Maries weeping over the Body of the Saviour. *Romanino*, The Marriage of the Virgin. *Lorenzo Costa*, SS. Biagio, Margaret, Peter Martyr, Mary Magdalene and Barbara.

Sta Maria Calchera

Moretto, SS. Jerome and Catherine. *Romanino*, St Apollinaris at Mass, attended by SS. Faustinus and Jovita. *Calisto da Lodi*, The Visitation.

Sta Maria delle Grazie

Pietro Rosa, St Barbara kneeling before her Father in expectation of Death (1574. *Procaccini*, Nativity of B.V.M. *Ferramolo*, The Virgin and Child.

Sta Maria dei Miracoli

Moretto, St Nicholas leading four Children before the Throne of the Madonna.

SS. Nazario e Celso

Titian, The high-altar-piece. *Moretto*, Coronation of the Virgin and the Transfiguration. *Foppa the Younger*, Martyrdom of SS. Nazario e Celso.

PAVIA

St Marino

Cesare da Sesto, B.V.M. with SS. Jerome and John Baptist.

The Certosa

Camillo Procaccini, St Veronica (1605) (first chapel right). *Macrino d'Alba*, B.V.M. and Child with four Angels adoring Infant Saviour; and The Resurrection (second chapel right, dedicated to St Hugh of Lincoln). *Borgognone*, The Evangelists. *Carlo Cornara*, Vision of St Benedict (third chapel right). *Borgognone*, The Crucifixion, with the Maries (1490) (fourth chapel right). *Borgognone*, St Sirus enthroned with SS. Stephen, Lawrence and two Bishops (fifth chapel to right). *Guercino*, SS. Peter and Paul adoring the Infant Saviour (sixth chapel to right). *Pietro Perugino*, The Eternal Father holding a globe, surmounted by Cherubim. *Borgognone*, The four Latin Doctors (second chapel, left). *Crespi*, The B.V.M. and Child, with SS. Carlo, Borromeo and Bruno (at end of south transept). *Bramantino*, The Family of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the founder. *Borgognone*, Coronation of the B.V.M. (in apse of north transept). *Crespi*, frescoes in choir.

NOVARA

The Cathedral

Gaudenzio Ferrari. The Holy Family with SS. Catherine, Gaudentius and Agabio. Below is a Pietà. *Lanini*, Crucifixion with SS. Mary Magdalene, Benedict and Gaudentius.

St Gaudenzio

Gaudenzio Ferrari (1515), The Nativity and Annunciation; the B.V.M. and Child, with SS. Ambrose, Gaudenzio, Agabio and a canonized Portrait of the Painter; SS. Edelcesio and Paul; SS. Peter and John Baptist. *Morazzone*, The Deposition. *Moncalvo*, The Circumcision. *Ribera* (?), St Jerome (in sacristy).

ASTI

The Cathedral

A large and imposing cruciform structure almost entirely of red brick. There is a low octagonal lantern at the crossing and a fine massive campanile on the south side of the choir. The structure dates from between 1323 and 1348, but although presenting some fine portions, as e.g., the south porch, it cannot as a whole compare for a moment with contemporary churches in England, France and Germany. The interior is spoilt by the painting with which it is completely bedaubed, but the ensemble is grand and imposing. *Macrino d' Alba.* The Virgin and Child with SS. John Baptist, John Evangelist, Paul and another; The Marriage of the Virgin.

CASALE MONFERRATO

Cathedral

Gaudenzio Ferrari, The Baptism of our Lord.

VERCELLI

St Cristofero

Gaudenzio Ferrari, Frescoes, in some of which he was assisted by his pupil, *Lanini.* Perhaps the most remarkable series of such works in Northern Italy (1532-1534). The Madonna enthroned



Novara: The Cathedral from the North West.

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on panel, attended by saints, amongst whom St Christopher, as patron of the church, is conspicuous in front. *Lanini*, The Virgin enthroned with St Peter Martyr (in sacristy).

Sta Caterina

Gaudenzio Ferrari, The Marriage of St Catherine.

MILAN

St Ambrose

Gaudenzio Ferrari, The Deposition. *Luini*, The Three Marys and our Lord bearing His Cross. *Luini* (?), The B.V.M. and Child, with SS. Ambrose and Jerome; and with SS. Joachim and John the Baptist. *Borgognone*, Christ disputing with the Doctors. *Luini*, Ecce Homo with Angels.

St Eustorgio

Borgognone, The Virgin with Infant Saviour and Two Saints (in first chapel, right).

St Giorgio in Plazzo

Gaudenzio Ferrari, St Jerome (in first chapel, right). *B. Luini*, The Deposition (over the altar), and The Ecce Homo (on one of the piers of the third chapel, right).

St Lorenzo

A. Luini, The Baptism of our Lord (over first altar, right).

St Marco

Lomazzo, The Virgin and Child with Saints (in third chapel, right).

Sta Maria del Carmine

B. Luini, Fresco of the Madonna with SS. Roch and Sebastian.

Sta Maria presso San Celso

Gaudenzio Ferrari, The Baptism of our Lord (in fourth recess, right). *Paris Bordone*, St Jerome, kneeling before the Infant Saviour (in principal chapel of south transept). *Borgognone*, The Madonna and Child (in first chapel, left).

St Maria delle Grazie

Gaudenzio Ferrari, Frescoes (in fourth chapel, on the right). *Leonardo da Vinci*, the world-renowned Cenacolo, or Last

Supper, on the wall of the refectory of the Convent (begun 1493). *Montorfano*, A fresco of the Crucifixion (1495), at opposite end of refectory.

Sta Maria della Passione

Gaudenzio Ferrari, The Last Supper (in chapel of north transept). *Salmeggia*, Christ in the Garden (in same chapel). *B. Luini*, The Pietà (over high altar). *Crespi* and *Carlo Urbini*, Shutters of the organ. *Crespi*, The Four Doctors, and the eight pictures fixed to the great piers representing scenes in the Passion.

St Maurizio Maggiore

B. Luini, Paintings on the great screen which divides the church into two parts; a most remarkable and almost unique example of such treatment. Other works of *A. and B. Luini* are the frescoes in the second and third chapels on the right hand side.

St Sebastiano

Bramantino, The Martyrdom of St Sebastian.

St Sepolcro

Bramantino, The Dead Christ, mourned by the Marys.

St Simpliciano

Borgognone, The Coronation of the Virgin (on vault of choir).

St Tomaso in terra mala

A. Luini, The Magdalene. *G. C. Procaccini*, St Carlo Borromeo. *Sabatelli the Younger*, St Anthony.

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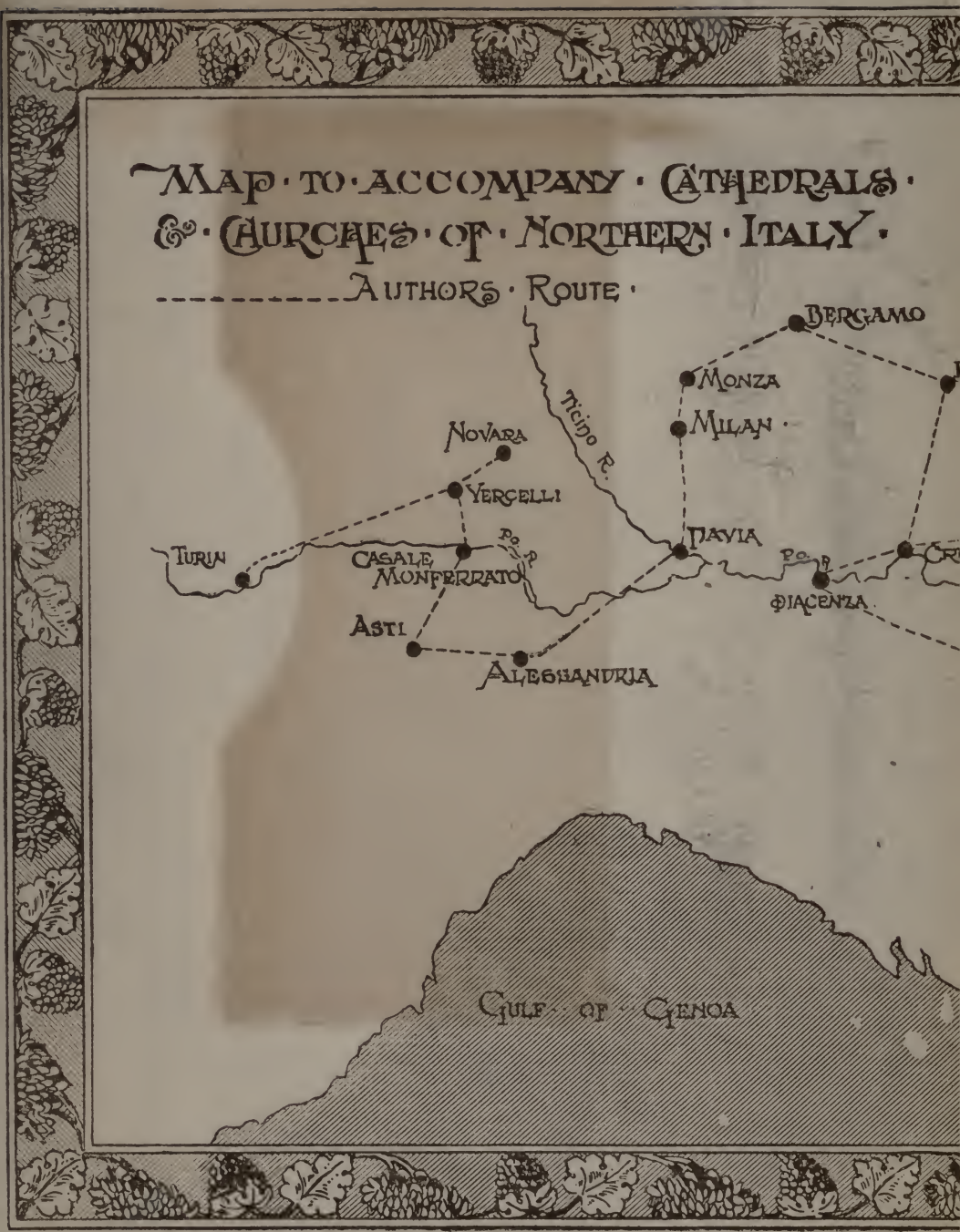
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